

FUTURE OF INTERNATIONAL POWER STRUCTURE: UNIPOLAR OR MULTIPOLAR?



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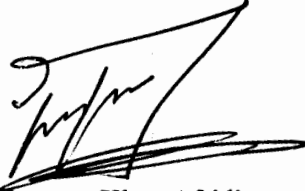
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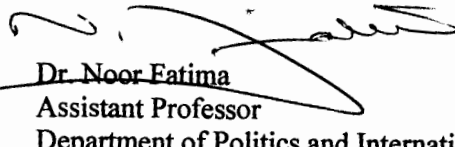
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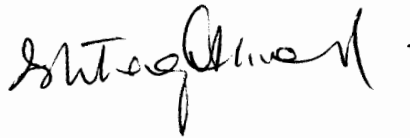
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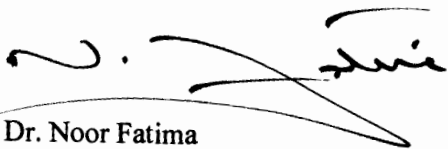


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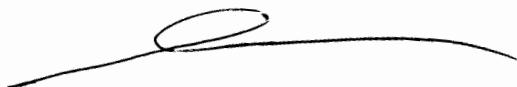
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DEDICATION

I dedicate this work to my mother who supported and encouraged me at every step of my life.

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Samra Naz.

List of Acronyms

African Development Bank	ADB
ASEAN Regional Forum	ARF
Association of South-East Asian Nations	ASEAN
Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation	APEC
ASEAN Plus Three	APT
Arab League	AL
African Union	AU
Brazil, Russia, India, China	BRIC
Conselho Sul-Americano de Defesa	CSD
Central Treaty Organization	CENTO
Economic Community of West African States	ECOWAS
Economic Cooperation Organization	ECO
European Union	EU
Five Power Development Agreements	FPDA
Gulf Cooperation Organization	GCC
Gross Domestic Product	GDP
Global Positioning System	GPS
Group of Seven Countries	G-7
Group of Eight Countries	G-8
Group of twenty countries	G-20
Group of Seventy Seven Countries	G-77
International Monetary Fund	IMF
Latin American Integration Association	LAIA

Mutually Assured Destruction	MAD
North Atlantic Treaty Organization	NATO
National Aeronautics and Space Administration	NASA
Organization of American States	OAS
Organization of Eastern Caribbean States	OECS
Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries	OPEC
Organization of Islamic Conference	OIC
South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation	SAARC
South African Development Community	SADC
Shanghai cooperation Organization	SCO
South East Asia Treaty Organization	SEATO
Shanghai Cooperation Organization	SCO
Union of South American Nations	UNASUR
United States	US
United Nations	UN
World Trade Organization	WTO

CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

Future of international power structure is observable; it can be predictable as unipolar or multipolar. Power structure is a strategy which explains institutions in international relations rather than a single society and also explains the institutional changes taking place in inter-societal system. A range of theories in the field of international relations explain dynamics of power distribution in international political system. The system theory was a result of behavioral revolution in social sciences. System describes a relationship between units or its various components. A system is a set of continuing interactions among the constituent elements that is self determining and retains certain distinguishing characteristics over significant periods of time. An international system is a set of interactions among nation states that is sufficiently self-determining to have a significant effect on the present condition and future development both of the system. The interactions among all types of independent societies are considered to be international system. It provides a scientific study of international relations and presence of systems in international relations. The nation state being its parts involved in the process of interaction as each nation state (a unit) is in constant contact with the whole or the international environment. It shows therefore, that each system besides being a system can be a sub-system in a relation to a larger international system. A state's behavior is a joint action of winning from and giving to the international environment. The system theory was first given by McClelland in 1955. Later Morton Kaplan's worked on it and gave his international system theory. It is a great participant in explaining the international relations in different eras. International relations are not static therefore international power structure is

dynamic. It was multi-polar till the end of World War II and then it transformed into a loose bi-polar system in Cold War era. After bi-polar power structure it was considered to be hegemonic but many factors affect the system which made it more complex and transitional. Even this transitional period has characteristics of several power structures but not fulfill the complete requirement of single. This transition of international system provides a unique, interdisciplinary overview of the major economic, political, and psycho-cultural changes both within and among nations that will shape and develop the future of international power structure.

Statement of the Problem

After the end of bi-polar international system, world is moving towards new world order, different forces and factors are affecting the future of international power structure, some of these factors are leading towards Multi-polar system while some other factors are leading it towards Unipolar system. Here the question arises that what are the factors which contribute towards the development of multi-polar power structure in future. What will be the characteristics of future international power structure?

Hypothesis

Due to the rise of new economic and military powers at the world stage and regionalist trends in global politics, the tendency of international power structure is tilting towards multi-polarity in the future.

Literature Review

Future of international System has not been discussed much in literature of International Relation and Political Science. Most of literature in this regard is related to history of International System. A literature related to future of World System is mostly focused on some aspects of investigation. For example, in the book *The Future of International System the United States and the World Political Economy*¹ written by Theodore Geiger emphasized on the international system developed after World War II and Cold War era with reference of certain trends which are molding the system into new direction such as economic integration. But it lacks certain important trends like Globalization, regionalism and their role in international system in post bi-polar world.

The book *The theory and Practice of International Relations*² edited by William C. Olson David S McClellan and Fred A Sonderman describe the role of balance of power in maintaining the international order specially in historical aspect and bipolar world but it did not explain the new system after bipolar and emerging phenomena's in it.

The book *Introduction to International Relations: Power and Justice*³ by Theodore A. Coulombis and James H. Wolf has discussed 'Balance of Power' and different types of International System given by Kaplan. They have viewed it through rationalistic and realistic power politics. But they have emphasized on Power politics but did not pay much attention to the liberalist or role of interdependence in Cold War and post bi-polar order.

¹ Theodore Geiger, *The future of International system: The United States and the World Political economy* (London: Unwin Hyman Ltd, 1988).

² David McClellan, William C Olson and Fred A. Sondermann, *The theory and Practice of International relations.* ed (New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1983).

³ Theodore Coulombis A and James H Wolf, *Introduction to international Relations Power and Justice.* Ed. (New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1986).

The book *Contending Theories of International Relation A Comprehensive Survey*⁴, James E Dougherty, Robert L. P. have given a theoretical approaches towards International System by analyzing the views of Kaplan's and McClelland etc. But it did not provide any future dimension to international system after bi-polar world order.

The Second Edition of *Essential Readings in World Politics*⁵ edited by Karan A Mingst and Jack L. Snyder has discussed international System and Balance of Power with reference of post bi-polar world's power politics and United States hegemonic struggle. But it lacks to discuss the other characteristics of current international system like regionalism, interdependence, psycho-cultural changes etc.

*The Encyclopedia of Globalization*⁶ has discussed International System with changes in Globalized world and have open the horizon for International System Theory in contributing the great challenges of 21st century's to develop a democratic and collectively rationale global commonwealth.

Immanuel Wallenstein in his book *Alternatives the United States Confronts the World*⁷ has shed light on the United States policies and hegemonic efforts. He maintains in a globalized world US' expansionist designs have contributed to its decline as a hegemon in the international system and currently a new world order is in the offing. However, he fails to fully present the context of emerging International System.

⁴ James Dougherty and Robert, *Contending Theories to International Relations: A comprehensive Survey*. ed, L. Pfaltzgraff (New York:Haoer & Row Publishers,1983)

⁵ Karan A Mingst and Jack I. Synder, *Essential Readings In World Politics*. ed.(New York:W.W Norton & Company, 2004)

⁶ Roland Roberston ,*Encyclopedia of Globalization*. Ed. (London:Routledge Curzon)

⁷Immanuel Wallenstein, *Alternatives: The United States Confronts the World*(London: Paradigm Publishers,2004)

In the book *Theory and Practice of International Relations*⁸ William Clinton Olson and James R. Lee have discussed relations of actors in international system, in the post cold war era, with respect to new emerging tendencies like the role of the United Nations, democratic regimes, regionalism etc. However, they fail to take into account the future of international system in the light of aforementioned factors.

The book *Comparative Politics and International Relations*⁹ by Parkash Chander discusses international System in historical perspective and explains Kaplan's international systems. The major focus of his work is on theoretical aspects of international political system without offering any insights into future outlook of International system. *The Islamic World-system A study in Polity-market Interaction*¹⁰ written by Masudul Alam Choudhury presents Islamic world system with historical perspective and Ibn-e- Khaldoon's International System. He discussed it with comparison to west and how Muslims can affect development of International System. But it lacks to discuss the transitional period of International System.

This research focuses to fill gaps and laps of present literature and has endeavored to provide comprehensive study of factors involved in shaping future of world system.

⁸ William Clinton Olson and James R. Lee, *Theory and Practice of International Relations*(New Jersey: Prentice Hall,1991)

⁹ Parkash Chandar and Prem Arora, *Comparative Politics and International Relations* (New Delhi: Cosmos Bookhive (P) LTD,2008)

¹⁰ Masudul Alam Choudhury, *The Islamic WORLD System A Study In Polity and Market Interaction* (London:Routledge Curzon,2004)

Objective of Research

The main objective behind this research is to find out the major developments and their role in shaping the future of international power structure as how it is affected with the increase in interdependence. It will describe major trends which are leading it into different direction as how globalization, technology, power politics and psycho-cultural changes are affecting its development. It will also help in finding the position of actors in upcoming international system as the position of third world countries and non-state actors in International System. This study of International power structure will also explain the behavior of states toward international society as whether a state followed a policy of interdependency, status quo, imperialism, or prestige depended on its location in international power structure and conditions in which its behaving both can be determined by international system.

Research Methodology

The methodology used for this research is in analytical perspective. Secondary sources have been consulted according to the requirement of research, like use of library books, magazines, journals, newspapers, internet and media.

CHAPTER TWO

International Power Structure

Power structure is a strategy which explains institutions in international relations rather than a single society and explains the institutional changes taking place in inter-societal system. There are number of theories in international relations which explain the power distribution in international system. International Systems have two dimensions: structure and process. "Structure" in the neo-realist sense can be referring to the distribution of capabilities among units¹¹. Process refers to patterns of interaction: the ways in which the units relate to each other. The progressions that take place in a system are affected by its structure and by the characteristics of the most important units in the system. Structure of the system provides opportunities and constraints to the actors or units which are part of it, so one needs information about preferences as well as about structure to account for state action. Structural realism is a discipline of foreign policy analysis that believes that the most significant variable that forms states' foreign behavior is the distribution of power in the international system under the motto of powers equivalent powers. A power structure in international relations can be described as which states can make a decision and for how long its resolution stands, and which can be forced to act in accordance with these decisions¹². It can also be considered as a move towards the study of power that sights the unstable distribution of resources upon which power is found¹³ and highlight entirely on drawing power structures in an organized way and making a

¹¹ Kenneth N. Waltz, *Theory of International Politics* (Reading Mass: Addison-Wesley, 1979).

¹² http://simple.wikipedia.org/wiki/Power_structure

¹³ Plympton Bill. "What is Power Structure Research", *Who Rules?* URL: <http://pages.uoregon.edu/vburris/whorules/>

general theory of power. Power structure has been theoretically important in International Relations to describe the relations among states in history and provide structures on basis of power distribution¹⁴. Power has different definitions by which a state has number of options to become powerful like economically, politically, ideologically, military, resources etc. So there are different hierarchies of power in anarchical international system. Power system is not stable but varies with time and circumstances.

In contemporary era international relations among states are of main importance due to factor of globalization and interdependence. These relations developed an international system which seems anarchical just because of shuffle and transfer of power among states which gives a self-motivated power structure in International relations. Measurement of power of states has been in numerous ways. One approach has been to come across for tangible power or potentials of a country. This way can be disapproved on the basis that first power is supposed to be an aptitude of state A to alter the activities of state B; Second its characteristics, such as GNP and armed forces expenditure, just offer specific capabilities that can be transformed into power but cannot be signified as power itself; Third power contrasting to these features is unstable across a definite sphere and capacity; Fourth the power of a cluster of countries may not be stabilizer when are in coalition; Fifth power is an exceptionally uncertain concept. Another approach to evaluate power is to check the national power in certain events as a power of a state in the consciousness of statesmen and additional observer of the international power structure because it is considered as a main attribute in changing the country's strategies and associations to

¹⁴ Domhoff, G. William. "Power Structure Research and the Hope for Democracy", Who Rules America, April 2005. URL: http://sociology.ucsc.edu/whorulesamerica/methods/power_structure_research.html

develop international power structure.¹⁵ Levy (1983) gives the following principles of power: control of a high level of military potential grant for practical self- capability in security affairs and allow to perform of offensive as well as defensive military actions, membership in worldwide congresses and conventions, de facto identification as a Great Power by an international conference or organization of Powers, e.g. the Concert of Europe. Great Power assures, territorial compensations, general behavior as equal by other Great Powers (e.g. protocol, coalition, negotiations, etc.). In International relations the power distribution among states is always dynamic when power resources are considered like economics (economic determinism), military (military determinism), natural resources, interdependence and capability to use power (political determinism) and the contributory influence of each of these types is not matter to any traditionally universal rule.

The unique features of the international power structure have everything that domestic systems did not have. In international power structure states are main actors and it is anarchic, decentralized, and informally organized. In the lack of institutionalized command, proper organizations (other than international organizations), and legitimized power patterns, self-reliance and self-help control as the principal guiding for actor's actions¹⁶. This structure can be defined first by the standard by which it is ordered, then by the demarcation of its units, and finally by the division of potential (power) among units. Anarchy, or the absence of central authority, is for Waltz the main principle of the international system. Since all states want to

¹⁵ Frank Whelon, "The Role of Capability Concentration and Alliance Patterns Among Major Powers. 1816-1965". *Journal of Peace Research*, Vol.21, No 1: Sage Publications (Apr., 1984), p. 64.

¹⁶ William R. Thompson, *Polarity Long Cycle and Global Warfare*. (London: Macmillan Press, 1986) p. 84.

survive and anarchy presumes a self-help system. There are two basic normative orders of international power structure which are Permissive and Restrictive orders.

Permissive Order

In this order, use of force to expand power is condoned. Treaty agreements can be broken if violation advances national interests and a great power's military reach can extend as far as its resources permit to compete unconstrained by commitments to consult and act in concert. In permissive order the competition for power is stabilizing and balance of power preserves peace. In such system self help measures are the only safe strategy for defense. Agreement reduces the capacity to adapt to changing circumstances. Adherence to binding agreement diminishes flexibility and confrontation is endemic and serves to preserve equilibrium.

Restrictive Order

In this order the right to use force is limited and alignment agreement are perceived binding. The great power competition is confined to specified territorial boundaries and the great powers are to coordinate their policies, communicate, and agree to act in concert to regulate common problems. Restrain on the freedom and competition results this order in which cooperation and collective action preserve peace. In this order allies sharing defense burdens can strengthen national security and agreements increase predictability and order by preventing great power confrontation through commitments to code of conduct. The order varies with changes in the distribution of potential across a system's units and changes in structure alter the expectations about how the units of the system will behave. In international power structure major political changes are the consequences of unique and unpredictable sets of developments which results

into different sorts of structure, and on the basis of distribution of power there are different types of power structure.

Power Structure and Polarity

Polarity depends upon distribution of power with multiple hubs of power whereas polarization refers to the inclination for states to group in the sort of the poles¹⁷. It can also be defined as the tendency of actors to group around the most powerful states through coalitions. Hence a structure with multiple power hubs can go to a larger level of polarization if its states steadily form separate blocs¹⁸. Kaplan and Deutsch-Singer defined polarity as the numeral of blocs present in the system or polarity can be determined by including the figure of interaction occasions¹⁹.

Types of International Power Structure

Power structure has been discussed in system theory which is the result of the behavioral revolution in social sciences. System describes a relationship between units or its various components. A system is a set of continuing interactions among the essential components that is self determining and retains certain distinguishing characteristics over significant periods of time. An international system is a set of interactions among nation states that is sufficiently self-

¹⁷ William R. Polarity Long Cycle and Global Warfare. P. 581.

¹⁸ Charles W. Kegley and Gregory A. Raymond, A Multipolar Peace? Great Power Politics in the Twenty First Century. (New York: Matins Press, 1994) p. 86

¹⁹ P. Dale Dean, Jr. and John A. Vasquez, "From power politics to issue politics, bipolarity and multi From Power Politics to Issue Politics: Bipolarity and Multipolarity in Light of a New Paradigm": *The Western Political Quarterly*, Vol. 29, No. 1 (Mar., 1976), p. 15: University of Utah, Western Political Science Association.

determining to have a significant effect on the present condition and future developments of the system. The connection between all sorts of independent societies forms an international system. The system theory was first given by McClelland in 1955 then Morton Kaplan worked on it and gave his international system theory. It describes the international relations and power structure in different circumstances²⁰. International relations are not fixed therefore international power structure is dynamic. It was multi-polar till World War II then became loose bi-polar in Cold War. After this bi-polarity it was measured to be hegemonic but many factors changed it into more complex and transitional power structure. This move in international system presents distinctive, interdisciplinary impressions of the major economic, political, and psycho-cultural changes which are developing the future of international power structure. According to Morton Kaplan, there are some coherence, regularity and order in international relations and he gives following models which describes power structure.²¹

The Balance of Power (Oligopolar) System

This system was observed in Europe in the 18th and 19th centuries particularly from 1815 to 1914²². The classical balance of power model worked finest when the international system comprises of least amount of five major powers and no regional or global organizations.²³ Coalitions in this system are inclined to be definite, and for small period. Wars concerning small powers are not allowed, and are established in a manner that is well-matched with the benefit of the major powers; the international laws which are accepted by major powers are

²⁰ Parkash Chandar and Prem Arora, *Comparative Politics and International Relations* (New Delhi: Cosmos Bookhive (P) LTD,2008) p.167

²¹ Parkash Chandar and Prem Arora, *Comparative Politics and International Relations*, p. 167

²² Parkash Chandar and Prem Arora, *Comparative Politics and International Relations*, p. 167

²³ Theodore Geiger, *The future of International system: The United States and the World Political economy* (London: Unwin Hyman Ltd, 1988) p.51

practiced. Major Powers have to follow some necessary set of laws to preserve the balance of power system. These rules are that states must take action to enhance potentials, but bargain rather than clash or each state may raise its power without war, i.e., by negotiations. The main objective of each state should be to defend its national interests even in the danger of war or they can clash relatively than be prohibited from raising its capabilities and can stop hostility before eliminating another big power. They must be against any alliance of nation states or any solo power that try to dominate the international system and discourage nation states from helping a shift to a global collective security system. After a war states must work to move up some formerly weaker power to the status of a major power and treat all major powers as equals or defeated actor should be allowed a reentry into the system. Theoretically balance of power system meant the distribution of power between various states to prevent any particular nation from commanding its will upon others.

The Loose Bi-polar System

The balance of power system may convert itself into loose bipolar system. In this system two different blocs govern the system. Each bloc has a leading player. Both supranational actors as well as state actors can play a part in the loose bi-polar system. Loose bi-polar system consists of two blocs' actors (United States and Soviet Union), non member bloc actors (non aligned states) and universal actors (United Nations)²⁴. Supranational actors can be distinguished as bloc actors like NATO and Warsaw pact and global actors like United Nations. This model is called as Cold War model from 1947 to 1971 having two super powers who were leading,

²⁴ Parkash Chandar and Prem Arora, *Comparative Politics and International Relations* (New Delhi: Cosmos Bookhive (P) LTD, 2008) p.168

protecting and commanding the weaker states as peripheral nations. Among these there were also some peripheral nation states that were not associated with any bloc. The major blocs convey different rigid ideologies, governmental, social, and economic systems. In fact, the diversity is so high that the acceptance of any system by one bloc leads to the replacement by other bloc²⁵. Different from the classical balance of power model, the loose bi-polar model develop long term, and institutionalized coalitions on the basis of similar interests that are supposed as constant and are implied in ideological conditions. This high level of hostility between two blocs could lead to total destructiveness but the presence of the nuclear weapons at both blocs maintain the low level of total military conflict. Kaplan has recommended some vital rules for the permanence of loose bipolar system²⁶. Such as both blocs should struggle to raise their capabilities and should be ready for dangers in order to abolish the opponent bloc. Both blocs should favor to hold a major war before the rival bloc achieves supremacy over the whole international system. Both blocs should give importance to their own interests over the United Nations objectives, but should prefer the objectives of United Nations over the rival bloc interests. Neutral states should support the United Nations over the blocs and try to make it as a checker on the both blocs and try to lessen the danger of war between them. Both blocs should effort to enhance their membership but should also accept the position of nonaligned states.

The Tight Bi-polar System

The loose bi-polar system can be transformed into a tight bipolar system or any other system. It has no chronological example from history, Kaplan describes it as in this system all neutral states are grouped with one bloc or the other. Each leading actor keeps a firm control over its

²⁵ Kenneth Waltz, *Theory of International Politics* (Reading, Mass: Addison-Wesley, 1979)p.95

²⁶ Kaplan, Morton A. *Great issues of International Politics: The International System and National Policy*, 2nd ed. (Chicago: Aldine Publishing, 1974) p.11

allies and has great hostility towards the other bloc²⁷. In this system neutral states would vanish or shall have very less significance and global actor will not be in a place to arbitrate between the two blocs²⁸.

The Universal International System

This system can be stated as global federation. It would be practiced when the United Nations Organization becomes satisfactorily strong to preserve uninterrupted peace and perform judicial, economic, political and administrative functions though, the states would have only sufficient sovereignty.

The Hierarchical or Mono-polar Model International System

It may come into reality when a global actor takes in the entire world and states would turn into sub divisions of the international system without being sovereign²⁹. This model will be hierarchical system of worldwide policies that will be administered by world government which can be developed from the United Nations. On the other hand, this system can be evolved if solo power conquers the whole world. The Roman Empire can be considered as rough example of this system. This system will not be secure in the long period because definitely it will undergo nationalist movements, which could lead to fatal global civil war³⁰.

²⁷ Theodore Geiger, *The future of International system: The United States and the World Political economy* (London: Unwin Hyman Ltd, 1988) p.54

²⁸ Parkash Chandar and Prem Arora, *Comparitive Politics and International Relations* (New Delhi: Cosmos Bookhive (P) LTD,2008) p.168

²⁹ Parkash Chandar and Prem Arora, *Comparitive Politics and International Relations*, p.168

³⁰ Theodore Geiger, *The future of International system: The United States and the World Political economy* (London: Unwin Hyman Ltd, 1988) pp.57-58

The Unit-Veto (or Nuclear Proliferation) System

This model still has no historical occurrence. It portrays extremely unbalanced fatal approach of worldwide relationship. It visualizes an international system in which the majority of states acquire nuclear weapon capability so if any one of them starts nuclear warfare can be a source of universal disaster. It can generate the atmosphere of suspicions among states and unrecoverable conflicts due to direct access of nuclear weapons. The probabilities of damage through irrationality and catastrophe are exceedingly in this system. So fright of an inadvertent nuclear clash from confusion, states will limit their associations in a unit veto system³¹. The unit veto system can be stable only if all the states are ready to counter threats and strike back in case of an attack or in the presence of some universal actor who has acceptable control or check on the state actors to reduce the chances of war.

The Post Nuclear War Model (Nuclear-Damage-Control Model)³²

It can be imagined after a disastrous nuclear war on globe. It is believed that as half a billion people might expire in effect of the blasts, heat, radiation of the nuclear weapons and communication system and industries will be expired. All parts of the world probable infected with nuclear fight. Contaminated and maimed people would be rushing worriedly for protection, food, and medicines. In such a frightening situation, only the most authoritarian

³¹ Theodore Geiger, *The future of International system*, pp.54-55

³² Theodore Geiger, *The future of International system*, p.57

governments possibly capable to sustain enough order for the distribution of food, shelter, and medical treatment³³.

The Collective Security Model

This is utopian model (with no historical match). It can be imagined when United Nations play role according to the supercilious principles of its originator. In this system armed forces are prohibited; there are no coalitions and violence by one state against any other will be penalizing by monetary and armed sanctions forced jointly by all other states. This system is believed to be comparatively peaceful because United Nations can work increasingly more effectual in resolving the international disputes. According to critics this system is not practical as it demands, states governments to stand for moral restrictions willingly and to go against the aggressor despite of their own interests. The collective security system became unrealistic because it desires states to refrain from alliance system and United Nations to work without letting down the sovereignty of states³⁴.

The Multi-bloc (or Inter – Regional) Model (The National Fragmentation or Multi-polar Model)

It depicts a world separated into five to seven equally special area of influence each of them having a hierarchy of states controlled by one of the world major power which would not interfere in the others areas of influence. In other condition multi-bloc model will be formed by

³³ Herman Kahn, *Thinking About the Unthinkable* (New York: Horizon Press, 1962) p. 87

³⁴ Theodore Geiger, *The future of International system: The United States and the World Political economy* (London: Unwin Hyman Ltd, 1988) pp.55-56

well economic and political integrations within the particular regions of world such as North America, South America, Western Europe, the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, Africa, the Middle East, and some other regions involving South and South East Asia, East Asia, and Oceania³⁵.

Multi-polar systems contains near equals, but not total equals. Some states have more power than others, and the difference among them is inclined to change over time. Great powers normally effort for power-not just for its own interest, but also to get benefit greater than their nearest competitor³⁶.

History

Every historical period is distinct to some degree of change, but today the pace of change has appeared more rapid and the cost more profound than ever before. In fact current events put forward that a revolutionary streamlining of world political affairs has taken place. Restructuring is recommended by many integrative developments. The states are getting more closely in communication, trade, ideas, and in peace and security. Similarly, restructuring is also suggested by many disintegrative trends that may signify chaos, such as environmental deterioration, weapons proliferation, the end of bi-polar permanence, and the rebirth of nationalism and ethnic conflicts.

There are six main multi-polar systems in history with difference in terms of size, degree of polarization, economic conditions, types of ruling governments, the degree of civil strife, prevailing ideologies, and popular loyalty and some other common behavioral patterns.

³⁵ Roger D. Masters, A Multi-bloc Model of International System, American Political Science Review, 55 (December 1961), p. 782.

³⁶ Charles W. Kegley and Gregory A. Raymond. A Multipolar Peace? Great Power Politics in the Twenty First Century (New York: Matins Press, 1994) p. 187

Multi-polar Period (1495- 1521)

The first discussed multi-polar period was from 1495 to 1521 in result of the event of Treaty of Tordesillas (1493), and French invasion of Italy (1494). There were six great powers as England, France, and Austrian Habsburgs until 1519 and Spain (thereafter United Habsburg entity), Ottoman Empire, Portugal in which there was domestically stable rule of hereditary elites.³⁷ The major wars in this period were War of the League of Venice (1495), Neapolitan War (1501), War of Holy League (1511), Austro-Turkish War (1512), and Second Milanese War (1515). The other wars are Polish-Turkish War (1497), Venetian-Turkish War (1499), first Milanese War (1499) War of the Cambrian League (1508) Scottish War (1513). The size of the system was high which have six major powers and three small powers and polarization was low. There was high frequency of disruption and system got high level of stability in 1501 which remained until 1519. The dominant power in this period was Charles V of Spain and Francis I's of France was hegemonic aspirant. The main alliance was made between France and Spain as a league of Cambrai in 1508 and between France and England in 1518. Other alliances were between France and Venice in 1498 and France Swiss Confederation in 1499 and in 1516. The normative culture was permissive in order with moderate degree of Great Power ideological consensus because support for binding treaties was low with lack of degree great power communication to coordination which made war more acceptable. This system was terminated by the conflict between Francis I of France and Charles V of Habsburg in first War of Charles V (1521).

³⁷ Charles W. Kegley and Gregory A. Raymond. *A Multipolar Peace? Great Power Politics in the Twenty First Century* (New York: Matins Press, 1994) p. 187

Multi-polar Period (1604-1618)

In 1604-1618 there were seven great powers Austria, England, France, The Netherlands (beginning in 1609), Ottoman Empire, Spain, Sweden (beginning in 1617) and there were domestically Religious strife.³⁸ This was developed under the War of Armada (1585-1604) and Peace of Vervins (1598). In this era major wars were Spanish-Turkish war (1610), Spanish-Turkish War (1618) and the Thirty Year's war-Bohemian (1618). The other wars were Austro-Venetian War (1615), Spanish-Savoian War (1615), Spanish- Venetian War(1617) Polish-Turkish War(1618). The size of the system was high which had seven major powers and three small powers and polarization was low but rising and trends in power concentration was rising . There was high frequency of disruption and system was less stable till 1615. The dominant power in this period was France and Habsburg Spain was hegemonic aspirant. The main alliance was made between France-England-Netherland in 1608. Other alliance was between France and Savoy (1610). The normative culture was permissive in order with low degree of Great Power ideological consensus because support for binding treaties was low with lack of degree great power communication to coordination which made war more acceptable. This system declined with the start of Thirty Years of Wars (1618-1648).

Multi-polar Period (1648-1702)

This period starts with the event of Peace of Westphalia (1648) as a result of Treaties of Munster and Osnabruck. In 1648-1702 there were seven great powers Austrian Habsburgs, England, France, The Netherlands, Ottoman Empire until 1699, Spain and Sweden. The domestic stability of Great Powers was moderate and constitutional reforms begin in this

³⁸ Charles W. Kegley and Gregory A. Raymond. *A Multipolar Peace? Great Power Politics in the Twenty First Century*, p 188

period.³⁹ Major wars of this period were Franco-Spanish War (1648), Anglo-Dutch Naval War (1652), Great Northern War (1654), English-Spanish War (1657), Ottoman War (1657), Anglo-Dutch Naval War (1665), Devolutionary War (1667), Dutch Wars of Louis XIV(1672), Ottoman War (1682), Franco-Spanish War (1683), War of League of Augsburg (1668), Second Northern War (1700). The other wars were Spanish-Portuguese War (1642-1668), Turkish-Venetian War (1645-1664), Scottish War (1650), Dutch-Portuguese War (1657), Sweden-Bremen War (1665), Turkish-Polish War (1672) and Russo- Turkish War (1677). The size of the system at that time was high which have seven major powers and three small powers and polarization was low but rising and trends in power concentration was rising . There was high frequency of disruption and Prussia became a main contender in the system. System stability was moderate until 1690. The dominant power in this period was France and Louis XIV of France was hegemonic aspirant. The main alliances were made between France-Netherlands (1662), France-England (1667), France-England-Netherlands as Triple Alliance (1668), Austrian- Habsburgs- Spain- Sweden- Venice- Poland- Bavaria- Saxony- Palatinate- Savoy as League of Augsburg (1686). Other alliances were Sweden-Brandenburg as a result of Treaty of Konigsburg in 1656, France-German Princes as League of the Rhine (1658) and Austrian Habsburgs-Brandenburg in 1672. The normative culture was permissive in order and support for binding treaties was low but rising because degree of power ideological consensus was high which made the high acceptance of war to decline. Even there was low degree of great power communication to coordination. The War of Spanish Succession (1702) was the terminating event for this period.

³⁹ Charles W. Kegley and Gregory A. Raymond. *A Multipolar Peace? Great Power Politics in the Twenty First Century*, p 188

Multi--polar Period (1713-1792)

Treaty of Utrecht (1713) and Treaty of Rastadt (1714) were the onset events of this period. There were seven great powers Austrian Habsburgs, Great Britain, France, Prussia from 1740, Russia from 1721, Spain, and Sweden until 1721.⁴⁰ The major wars in this period were Second Northern War (1700-1721), War of Quadruple Alliance (1718), British-Spanish War (1726), War of Polish Succession (1733), War of Austrian Succession (1739), Seven Years War (1755), War of the Bavarian Succession (1778), War of the American Revolution (1778). The other wars were Ottoman War (1716), Ottoman War (1736), Russo-Swedish War (1741), Russian-Turkish War(1768), Confederation of War (1768), Ottoman War (1787), Russo-Swedish War(1788). The size of the system was high which have seven major powers and three small powers and polarization was low. There was moderate disruption and system was on low level of stability until 1740. The dominant power in this period was Great Britain and Napoleon's of France was hegemonic aspirant. The level of polarization was moderate with rising trend of power concentration. The main alliance was made between Britain-Austria-Netherlands as Barrier Treaty (1715), Britain-France-Netherlands-Austria as Quadruple Alliance(1718), Britain-Sweden (1721), Britain-France-Spain (1721), Britain-France-Prussia-Netherlands as Treaty of Hanover (1725), Britain-Austria-Netherland as a Treaty of Seville (1729), Britain-Austria-Netherlands (1731), Britain-Russia as Subsidy Treaty (1755), France-Austria as First Treaty of Versailles (1756), Britain-Prussia by Treaty of Westminster (1756), Austria-Russia(1781), Britain-Prussia-Netherlands as Triple Alliance(1788), and Austria-Prussia(1792). Other alliances were between Austria-Spain (1725), Prussia-Saxony-Hanover-Brunswick-Mainz-Hesse Cassel-Baden-Mecklenburg-Anhalt-Thuringia lands as League of German Princes

⁴⁰ Charles W. Kegley and Gregory A. Raymond. *A Multipolar Peace? Great Power Politics in the Twenty First Century*, p 188

(1785). The normative culture was Restrictive in order with high degree of Great Power ideological consensus because there was moderate support for binding treaties with low but steady degree great power communication to coordination which made acceptance of war moderate. French Revolutionary Wars (1792-1802) brought a great change in this period resulted rise of popular participation and phenomena of nationalism.

Multi-polar Period (1815-1914)

This period begins with the end of Napoleonic Wars (1803-1815) and Congress of Vienna (1815) with Treaty of Chaumont (1814) and Treaties of Paris (1814, 1815). There were eight great powers Austria-Hungry, France, Great Britain, Italy from 1861, Japan from 1905, Prussia/Germany, United States from 1898, and Russia.⁴¹ Influence of nationalism remained moderate but rapidly rising in this period so it was an era of insurrection at domestic level. The major wars of this period were Crimean War (1853), War of Italian Unification (1859), Austro-Prussian War (1866), and Franco-Prussian War (1870). The other wars were Neapolitan War (1815), Franco-Spanish War (1823), Navarino Bay(1827), Russo-Turkish War (1828), Austro-Sardinian War(1848), First Schleswig-Holstein War(1849), Roman Republic War (1849), Anglo-PersianWar (1856), Franco-Mexican War(1862), Second Schleswig-Holstein War (1864), Russo-Turkish War (1877), Sino-French War (1884), Russo-Japanese War (1904), Italo-Turkish War(1911). The main alliances in this period were between Austria-Prussia-Baden-Bavaria-Hesse Electoral-Hesse Grand Ducal- Saxony-Wurtemberg-Hanover (1818), Britain-Austria-Prussia-Russia-France as Quadruple Alliance (1818), Britain-France (1841), Portugal-Spain (1834-1846), Britain-Austria-Prussia-Russia-Turkey (1840), Mecklenburg-Schwerin(1843), Germany-Russia(1873-1881), Austria-Russia (1887-1878), Germany-

⁴¹ Charles W. Kegley and Gregory A. Raymond. A Multipolar Peace? Great Power Politics in the Twenty First Century, p 189

Austria(1789-1918), Germany-Austria-Russia as Three Emperor's League (1881-1887), Germany-Austria-Italy as Triple Alliance (1882-1914), Germany-Austria-Romania(1882-1914), Germany-Russia as result of Reinsurance Treaty (1887-1890), Austria-Italy-Spain (1887-1914), France-Russia (1892-1914), France-Italy (1902-1914). The other alliances were Russia-Turkey (1833-1840), Austria-Modena(1847-1859), Austria-Parma (1851-1859), France-Sardinia (1859), Prussia-Baden (1866-1870), Britain-Turkey (1878-1880), Austria-Serbia (1881-1859), Russia-China (1896-1947), Britain-Japan (1902-1921). The size of the system was high which have eight major powers and three small powers. There was low disruption until 1860 and system was on high level of stability except 1860-1870 and after 1890. The dominant power in this period was Great Britain and Germany was hegemonic aspirant. The level of polarization was low but rising after 1870 and trend of power concentration were decreasing in 1815-1829 but rising in 1830-1869 and declined thereafter. The main alliances were made between Austria-Prussia-Baden-Bavaria-Hesse Electoral-Hesse Grand Ducal-Saxony Wurttemberg. Other alliances were between Austria-Spain(1725),Prussia-Saxony-Hanover-Brunswick-Mainz-Hesse Cassel-Baden-Mecklenburg-Anhalt-Thuringia lands as League of German Princes (1785). The normative culture was increasingly Restrictive in order with high degree of Great Power ideological consensus because there was low but rapidly rising support for binding treaties with high but declining great power communication to coordination which made acceptance of war high but declining. World War I (1914-1918) was the concluding event for this period.

Multi-polar Period (1919-1939)

This period begins with Treaty of Versailles (1919).There were seven great powers France, Great Britain, Germany, Italy, Japan, and Soviet Union, United States. There was high

influence of nationalism with stagnate economic cycle overall. In this period there were much leadership changes on domestic level of Great Powers⁴². The major wars in this period were Russian Civil War (1918-1921), Russo-Japanese War (1905), The other wars were Manchurian War (1931), Italo- Ethiopian War (1935), Sino-Japanese War (1937), and Russo-Finnish War (1939). The size of the system was low which have seven major powers and three small powers. There was low disruption until 1930 and system was on low level of stability. The dominant power in this period was United States and Hitler's of Germany was hegemonic aspirant. The level of polarization was high with rising trend of power concentration until 1929. The main alliances were made between Germany-USSR (1926-1936), France-USSR (1932-1939), USSR-Italy (1939-1943), and Germany-USSR (1939-1941). Other alliances were between France-Belgium (1920-1936), France-Poland (1921-1939), Italy-Yugoslavia (1924-1927), France-Czechoslovakia (1925-1939), USSR-Turkey (1925-1939), France-Romania (1926-1940), USSR-Afghanistan (1926), USSR-Lithuania(1926-1940), Italy-Albania(1927-1939), France-Yugoslavia(1927-1939), Italy-Hungry(1927-1943), USSR-Persia (1927-1939), Italy-Turkey (1928-1939), Italy-Greece (1928-1938),France-Turkey (1930-1939), Britain-Iraq (1932-1956), USSR-Finland (1932-1939), USSR-Finland (1932-1939), USSR-Latvia(1932-1940), USSR-Estonia (1932-1940), USSR-Poland (1932-1939),Germany-Poland (1934-1939), USSR-Czechoslovakia (1935-1939), USSR-Mongolia (1936), Britain-Egypt (1936-1951), Italy-Yugoslavia (1937-1939), USSR-China (1937-1945), Britain-Poland (1939), Germany-Denmark (1939-1940), Germany-Estonia (1939-1940), Germany-Latvia (1939-1940) . The normative culture was Restrictive in order with low degree of Great Power ideological consensus because there was modest but increasing support for binding treaties with moderate but declining degree

⁴² Charles W. Kegley and Gregory A. Raymond. A Multipolar Peace? Great Power Politics in the Twenty First Century, p 188

great power communication to coordination which made decline in acceptance of war. End of this period was World War II (1939-1945) and a system of bipolarity (Cold War) started from 1945.

Bi-polar Period (1945-1991)

In *Politics among Nations* (1954)⁴³, Hans J. Morgenthau expressed the post-World War II period as bi-polar because two nuclear States, the United States and the Soviet Union detained the supremacy of authority above all other States. In that system power of these states was so enormous that alteration in the association of other states could not be able to bring any change in the balance of power. These two superpowers assembled "blocs" around themselves and struggle globally for their own influence and ideologies. Less powerful States became dependent upon these two conflicting powers for defense and financial requirements. The blocs divided the world by pacts like North Atlantic Treaty Organization, SEATO, CENTO, Warsaw Pact, Sino-Soviet defense agreement. The emergence of a bi-polar system was candidly related to the impact of nuclear weapons on the division of power. It is believed that nuclear weapons had wrecked the traditional way in which power could be balanced. International community was very largely dominated by two nuclear giants, the United States and the Soviet Union. Fundamental changes in politics, technology and ideology took place in this period, with enormous consequences for world affairs by formation of different organizations like United Nations and its agencies, International Monetary Fund, World Bank, and many Regional and non-governmental organizations. The main events in this period were the issue of Berlin Blockade, Korean War, Cuban missile Crisis, Arab Israel Wars, Vietnam War, Star Wars, Gulf War, Iran-Iraq war and Afghanistan's proxy war. The collapse of the Berlin Wall in November

⁴³ Hans J. Morgenthau. *Politics among Nations: Struggle for Power and Peace*, 2nd ed. (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1954).

1989 twisted out to be a preface to the disintegration of the Soviet Union two years later. The Washington -led alliance felt elated, and rightly so. A New World Order was acknowledged by the United States President George H. W. Bush, in which “the nations of the world, East and West, North and South, can prosper and live in peace”.⁴⁴

The nonviolent ending of Cold War does not guarantee a peaceful upcoming. As the long cycle theory estimate pessimistically that existing tendency in the transmission of economic power will direct to transformed competition, clashes or warfare between the great powers and new problems can emerge⁴⁵. Now these transformations are more towards a multi-polar world.

⁴⁴ Dilip Hiro. *After Empire: The Birth of a Multipolar World*, (New York : Nations Book), 2009. p. 271

⁴⁵ Dilip Hiro. *After Empire: The Birth of a Multipolar World*. p.106

CHAPTER THREE

Future of International System with Reference of Certain Theories and Approaches

There are number of theoretical approaches which describe and relate to international power structure. Each has a different perspective and jargon to explain it. Some of them are English School Theory, Realism, Neo-realism, Liberalism, Theory of Interdependence, Hegemonic Stability Theory, Theory of Regionalism and Balance of power.

English School Theory

The English School theory has unique elements of procedural pluralism, historicism, and it interlinks the three ideas: international system, international society and world society thus English School distinguishes among them. International system relates to power politics while Realism places international anarchism as the main feature in international relations. International society gave the concept of institutionalization by common concerns and distinctiveness between states, on other hand Rationalism offered the formation and continuance of shared norms and rules as main part of international relations. World society includes persons, non-governmental organizations and worldwide population as a whole and concentrates on international communities' uniqueness in international relations, while Revolutionism talks about global cosmopolitan. English School theory is much concerned with the notion of international society. Bull and Watson's defined international society as

“a group of states (or, more generally, a group of independent political communities) which not merely form a system, in the sense that the behavior of each is a necessary factor in the calculations of the others, but also have established by dialogue and consent common rules and institutions for the conduct of their relations, and recognize their common interest in maintaining these arrangements⁴⁶”.

It explains that the international system cannot be expressed as physical systems because it depends upon the units' behavior like how they recognize interact and perceive each other. States make a social system when they have some common rules, identities, norms, interests which directly affect their behavior of these states in international relations. The main concern of English School theory is to find out the structure, nature, history, system, development and function of such international societies. For this English School use the argument of structural realism that power distribution in international system is the vital variable which affects the states foreign policy and interaction especially in balancing the powers. This made multi-polar systems, allies, associations and leagues as a means to national interests of the State.

The English School has proposed a difference between global international society, and also among sub global particularly regional, international/world societies⁴⁷. The observed record propose that many regional international societies can be constructed on general global international society foundations, as happened in case of Europe and Southeast Asia (and in

⁴⁶ Barry Buzan. “The English School: An Underexploited Resource in IR ’’: *Review of International Studies*, Vol. 27, No. 3 (Jul., 2001), Cambridge University Press. p. 476

⁴⁷ Barry Buzan. “The English School”. p. 478

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past between the communist states)⁴⁸. The inclinations towards regionalism have been increased in post-Cold War international system.

A vigorous classification is a necessary to observe structural change by defining weak and powerful international societies. Constructivist gave historical approach to English School theory to examine the structure and practices of international society. The English School trilogy of international system, international society and world society well present ways of clarifying the phenomena of globalization, War and balance of power in international society. According to this war and balance of power are now less central to international society than in the past but important to some contemporary regional international societies like European Union and African Union etc. Such International societies have so much importance in the wider international system as collective 'actor quality' that they can no longer remain be as an anarchic substructure. English School theory also suggests future developments by considering cost and benefits. In international system economic sector is always more globalized than the political sector and political more globalized than the societal (identity) sector⁴⁹. International Political Economy relates regimes and international economic orders with international system and world society. English School theory considers the developments in the contemporary international systems as regional integration by having increasingly set-up of shared norms, rules and institutions, common identities among the peoples, particularly when the states are liberal democracies⁵⁰. It also argues that a world society (universalism) cannot be appeared except it is sustained by a firm political framework, and contemporary system is a state-based

⁴⁸ Barry Buzan. "The English School". p. 479

⁴⁹ Barry Buzan. "The English School". P. 483

⁵⁰ Barry Buzan. "The English School". P. 485

international system. It is believed that if international society or system is about shared norms, set of laws and institutions, then it is directly linked to international law.

The state has been central to English School theory opposite to neo-realism, which makes system structure dominant over the units but accept their point that international system are largely defined by dominant units within them. International society is based on units and dominated by states with their domestic character so English School is close to Wendt's view that 'anarchy is what states make of it'⁵¹. So English School interested in the development of the modern states from absolutist to nationalist to democratic to postmodern, and the impact on international society of these domestic changes. These revolutions or changes seems more likely to happen at the periphery than at the center, and therefore more likely to affect regional international systems than the global one. Theorists of the English school stress both on systemic and normative restriction on the behavior of states. Referring to a view of that human being as an individual is basically social and rational, capable of cooperating and learning from past experiences, these theorists emphasize that states, like individuals, have lawful interests that others can recognize and revere, and that they can recognize the general advantages. Therefore, states can bind themselves to other states by treaties and develop some common values with other states in international system so they enhanced the concept of increase in cooperation and interdependence in international system. Hence, the structure of the international system is not an everlasting Hobbesian anarchy, covered by the risk of war. An anarchic international system based on uncontaminated power relations between actors can change into a more accommodating and nonviolent international society, in which state behavior is shaped by commonly shared values and norms. In opposition to Realist, Rationalists

⁵¹ Barry Buzan. "The English School". p. 487

predict that states will rise to the challenge of Anarchy by maximizing order among states. A practical expression of international society is international organizations that uphold the rule of law in international relations, especially the United Nations globally and European Union regionally.

Realism

According to Realism states are the major actors in world affairs which are concerned with their own security, act in pursuit of their own national interests, and struggle for power and international system punishes states if they fail to protect their central interests. Realist prefers diplomacy over war and war rather than a loss in capabilities. Realist promote the concept of international anarchy as a force determining the causes and actions of states which are prone to antagonism, and often fail to collaborate even regardless of common interests⁵².

The realist believes that the structure of international system and humankind's lust for power determined the behavior of all States and their continual competitions are its important characteristics. As for Hans Morgenthau, the soul of international politics is only effort for power, and state have three basic tasks of foreign policy which are to maintain power, raise power, and exhibit power. The neorealist speaks directly to the importance of recent transformation in the structure of world power, in which a bipolar configuration of power has been replaced by one variously described as uni-polar or multi-polar⁵³. Neo-realist theories differentiate uni-polarity as unbalanced and prone to conflict; neo-realists believe that a state's

⁵² Goodrich and David A. Kay, eds., *International Organization: Politics and Process* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1973), p. 50

⁵³ Charles W. Kegley, JR. Eugene R Wittkopf, *World Politics Trends And Transformation*, ed 5th (NewYork: Martins Press, 1995), p.25

security relies on its military, quantity of nuclear weapon and economics power⁵⁴. While in classical realism, anarchy and the lack of central institutions (a government) describe the structure of the international system and states being primary actors act according to the principle of self help. According to structural realism, states do not differ in the mission but only in their capabilities and these capabilities classify their position in the system, while the distribution of the capabilities describe the structure of the system. Similarly, changes in the distribution of capabilities rouse changes in the structure of the system, as from a uni-polar to bipolar power pattern, or from a bipolar to a multi-polar one⁵⁵. Hans J. Morgenthau (1904–1980) developed realism into a complete international relations theory. Hans Morgenthau describes state's power as its 'geographical size, features and number of the inhabitants, excellence and amount of arms and the behavior in foreign affairs that how a state uses its power to manipulate the actions of other states. He also explains that the desire of a state to achieve power is equal to the wish to revolt against power in international system and describes that struggle of balance of power can prevent crisis, similarly this can also be a source of a crisis. Balance of power is a central element of neo-realism and strengthens the idea that the structure of the system determines outcomes, not the characteristics of the units that sometimes changes with the change of domestic politics⁵⁶. Structural realists identify that the anarchic structure of international politics shapes most international systems as states follow power to maintain their security. They use all means available to them as a way to progress their own national interests on domestic, regional or global scale. Multi-polarity provokes collaboration,

⁵⁴ Norman A Graebner, "The American Century: The Rise and Decline of the United States as a World Power";Pacific Historical Review, Vol 67. 2nd issue, Berkeley. May 1998.p 86

⁵⁵ Charles W. Kegley JR. Eugene R Wittkopf, World Politics Trends And Transformation, ed 5th (NewYork: Martins Press, 1995), p.29

⁵⁶Charles W. Kegley JR. Eugene R Wittkopf, World Politics Trends And Transformation, p.30

communication and common practice militarily, economically, culturally and ideologically, and dependence of a states national interests on others, which can decrease instability and new despotism. The given drawback within a multi-polar system is that it is not easy to spot competition, so a multi-polar system proposes more benefits as via multi-polarity there can be a better balance of power within the region which guarantees a balance to the international system.

Neo-Realism

Neorealist like Waltz describe International power structure as a key to explain all international politics, he considers that a regular behavior of states over centuries can be explained by the restriction on their actions that are imposed by the structure of the international system. International power structure can be first explained by the principle by which it is organized, then by the demarcation of its units, and lastly by the division of capabilities (power) across units. Anarchy is for Waltz the organizing principle of the international system and the units of the international system are states. As all states wants to persist and anarchy assumes a self-help system in which each state has to be careful, there is no practical differentiation between them. Though functionally they are similar, but can be distinguished by their capabilities (the power they possess) to perform the same function and the distribution of capabilities between states can differ; however, anarchy, the ordering principle of international relations, remains unchanged. This has a permanent effect on the performance of states. According to Waltz anarchic structure of international politics limits cooperation and recognized two reasons for it which is insecurity and unequal gains. In the situation of anarchy, each state is doubtful about the intentions of others and is anxious that the probable gains from cooperation may help other states more than it. In *International Institutions and State Power*, (1989) Robert Keohane admit

that states are self-centered actors that sensibly follow their goals. Though, by using game theory, he illustrated that states can extend their self-interest in the course of economic cooperation and by taking part in international institutions and interdependence can have an effect on world politics. According to Keohane systemic theories would be better capable to explain the factors affecting state actions. The neorealist renewal in the 1970s can also be deduced as essential counteractive to an over optimistic liberal principle of international cooperation and change in international power structure resulting from interdependence.

Liberalism

According to the theoretical viewpoint as Idealist, it calls for the formation of international organizations and institutional associations to change the anarchical and war-prone balance of power of international political structure that had swift to World War I. Idealist wanted to create new international structure stand on the law of collective security. It handled the dilemma of war by making violence by any state as an aggression in opposition to all which stand in concert, would avert the objective of the power seeking actor in international system. The League of Nations was the embodiment of the collective security principle as an anti anarchic institution in international political structure. The other idealist recommendation emphasized the legal control of war in international system by creating authorized institutions⁵⁷. So liberalism sees the international power structure with reference of international organizations and authorized international institutions in which states are member. Liberalist presents a peaceful picture of international system in which states are cooperating and interdependent.

⁵⁷ Charles W. Kegley JR. Eugene R Wittkopf, World Politics Trends And Transformation. p. 32

Theory of Interdependence

"Complex interdependence," by distinction, is considered as an ideal category of international system, purposely made as to contrast with a realist form. Complex interdependence presents a situation along with a number of states in which numerous ways of contacts unite societies (which are not dominated by states); there is no hierarchy of problems; and military forces would not be used by government towards one another⁵⁸. Interdependence theory recommended that "in a world of numerous issues which are poorly linked, in which coalitions are formed transnational and trans-governmentally, the possible role of international institutions in political negotiations is greatly increased⁵⁹." The important developments like increasing economic interdependence, formation of international institutions among nations and the destructiveness of modern weapons can encourage peaceful evolution by replacing military conflict as the main source to regulate the relations between nation-states in the contemporary international system⁶⁰. As it was proposed by association of interdependence theorists that nations whose economic interests are extremely intertwined with another's will not use force against each other. So interests knotted leave force unusable as a tool to get dominance in international system. This made complex interdependence system as predictably the wave of the future⁶¹. In *Power and Interdependence*⁶², it is given that international system of complex interdependence has three main characteristics: 1) state strategic goals must not be set in established hierarchies, but are matter of trade-offs; 2) the presence of several channels of contact among societies to widen the

⁵⁸ Robert O. Keohane and Joseph S. Nye. *Power and Interdependence*, 3rd ed, (Boston: Little Brown, 2001), p. 24

⁵⁹ Keohane and Nye, *Power and Interdependence*, p. 35

⁶⁰ Geoffrey Debnam, *The Analysis of Power A Realist Approach*, (London: Macmillan Press), p.7

⁶¹ Robert O. Keohane and Joseph S. Nye. *Power and Interdependence*, 3rd ed, (Boston: Little Brown, 2001), p.226

⁶² Keohane and Nye, *Power and Interdependence*.

variety of policy mechanism, thus restraining the capacity of foreign offices strongly to direct governments' foreign relations; and 3) armed forces are largely unrelated. Liberals have conventionally stressed on these two features of systemic process, first is non-structural inducements and second is differences in the ability to communicate and collaborate. Neo-realism is considered to be more suitable at the structural level of systemic theory while liberalism is more successful at the process level. Technological change and economic interdependence is interlinked with non-structural temptations or process of the system while non structural incentives are like destruction of weapons and transportation rates. International rules, institutions and "international regimes" are vital in affecting the capacity to communicate and cooperate in international system. Interdependence can have direct effect on international power structure as more dependence can decrease the use of power to influence others and leads to more cooperation. It also leads to power sharing among interdependent countries while unbalanced interdependence can be a power source as it can provide more power to one actor to influence the other. This concept of asymmetrical interdependence as a source of power is present in Albert Hirschman's *National Power and the Structure of Foreign Trade*⁶³, as well as in Kenneth Waltz's article on "The Myth of National Interdependence"⁶⁴.

Hegemonic Stability Theory

Hegemonic stability theory portrays the association between state and international order when a clearly predominant state, a hegemon, got leadership and power to control the international systems. It is closer to uni-polar power structure. Hegemonic stability theory is a combination

⁶³ Albert Hirschman, *National Power and the Structure of Foreign Trade* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1945).

⁶⁴ Charles Kindleberger, ed., *The International Corporation* (Cambridge, Mass.: MITPress, 1970).

of neorealist and liberal structural theories about balance of power within competing states; this theory points out that how the hold of one dominant power, a hegemon, is provided as the preservative of the system⁶⁵. The most accurate theoretical reference is hierarchy as a structural arranging principle of international system, the notion employed in Kenneth Waltz's structural theory, with hierarchy as an alternative to the anarchy of the international state system⁶⁶. Long cycle theory explained the periodic changes between phases of war and peace times connected with transfer of the power among major states, that each world war observes the appearance of a winning hegemon, a prevailing military and economic leader, is the main declaration of long cycle theory. With its achievements and unchallenged power, the hegemon restructure the present system by making and imposing policies to protect not only that power structure but also its own power. Hegemon support regimes that not only help it but also others because it is in the hegemon's progressive interests to have system stability and world peace. Multi-polarity is contrary to hegemony because it is based on the existence of single great power that describes the common goals and rules within the international system. Hegemon needs a predominance of material possessions, prudence of social ideas, capacity to manage international outcomes, and to some extent approval and recognition from other states present in the system. This puts a large burden both ethically and economically on the Hegemon which refers to a condition in which power and influence become concentrated in the possession of a single dominant state. According to world political economy, a predominance of material resources of which four sets are particularly imperative for Hegemonic powers as it must have supremacy over raw materials, supremacy over supply of capital, authority over markets and competitive

⁶⁵Charles W. Kegley JR. and Eugene R Wittkopf, *World Politics Trends And Transformation*, ed 5th (NewYork: Martins Press, 1995), p. 204

⁶⁶ Charles W. Kegley JR. and Eugene R Wittkopf, *World Politics Trends And Transformation*, p. 3

compensations in the manufacture of highly valued goods⁶⁷. From all this predominant power, or hegemon can be able to uphold rules for a system that defend its own interests. “Capital hegemons, like Britain and the United States, prefer open systems because their comparatively greater control of technology, capital, and raw materials gives them more opportunities to profit from a system of nonmarket restraint⁶⁸”. Kindleberger ‘the father of hegemonic stability theory’ believed that the causes of Great Depression of 1930 was rooted in the lack of a leading power eager and capable to accept a unequal share of the expenses to fulfill the duties of stabilizer⁶⁹. Other theorist take its different view, according to them the term hegemony itself has a harmful implications, signifying an domineering, unjust, abusive, and sometimes conflicting correlations among the leader and those it direct but is able to maintain the order of the system⁷⁰. So a hegemonic state contains a twofold character. On the one side, a hegemon participate to preserve the stability and order of the system; on the other side, a hegemonic state is a power seeking state that oppresses others to increase its own power. According to hegemonic stability theory when there is no dominant hegemonic power in international system, international conflicts could increase, and result will be instability and chaos. In such severe conditions world war can occur, just as the hegemonic decline of Britain and lack of United States leadership may paved way for the two world wars of the twentieth century⁷¹. When there is no hegemon clearly multi-polar power structure emerges. So this theory also goes forward in forecasting about the costs that will result if and when hegemon declines. It predicts that when this sort of structural transformation happened and the system is missing a recognized leader, instability occurs in the power structure of international system. Hegemony naturally compels

⁶⁷ Charles W. Kegley JR. and Eugene R Wittkopf, *World Politics Trends And Transformation*. p.205

⁶⁸ Ibid. P.205

⁶⁹ Ibid. p.206

⁷⁰ Charles W. Kegley JR. and Eugene R Wittkopf, *World Politics Trends And Transformation*. p.206

⁷¹ Ibid. pp.206

an unusual duty on the world leader. The expenses of maintaining economic and political order and to maintain a domain ultimately deteriorate the hegemon. In time, as the power of global responsibilities take their fee, new opponents rise to confront the gradually weaker world leader. Historically, this transmission of power situates the new phase for one more global war and the downfall of one hegemonic power can be the rise of another or many so a there is a persistent change in international power structure⁷². It follows that if the United States power and position begun to recede a new period of conflicts and disorder will commence thus it speaks directly about the possible dangers of a post-Cold War future⁷³.

Theory of Regionalism

The concept of “region” can be explained in the context of physical, political, and economic criteria as regions are based on geographical closeness and is coextensive with a special trading accords or a ethnic unions. Regions based on identities developed out of the course of decolonization, which directed to the creation of “culture blocs” in international system. Constructivism stresses the active uses of regionalism to endorse definite political and economic ends. Regions appear as part of international power structure by arising either through the sharing of various connections and externalities or as protection against the great-power politics⁷⁴. In the liberal framework, Walter Mattli has argued that regional adaptations can be seen as institutional agreements through which interests are achieved by setting up

⁷² Ibid.pp.74

⁷³ Charles W. Kegley JR. and Eugene R Wittkopf, *World Politics Trends And Transformation*. p. 36

⁷⁴ Raimo Vyrinen. “Regionalism: Old and New”: *International Studies Review*, Vol. 5, No. 1 (Mar., 2003): BlackwellPublishing, p. 45

system rules, conventions, and strategies⁷⁵. So regions can be defined as clusters of states as anarchical nature of system has assist, positively or negatively, becoming dependent on each other. In contrast, functional regions do not need the supposition of anarchy because the motivating force in functional regions is either the economy (for example, production networks), the environment (for example, acid rain), or culture (for example, identity communities). So the functional conceptualizations of regions originate from the interaction of sub national by non territorial factors such as societal and global economic, environmental procedures including non state actors while physical regions include the territorial, military, and economic spaces managed chiefly by states. When an ethnic group want to create a cultural region and use it agentive to uphold itself as an independent political community in international system. In the international system, economic regions are made by transnational capitalist processes, environmental regions by the interaction between human actions and the biosphere, and cultural regions by some common identical communities. The conversion from physical to functional regionalism is outcome of the boost in the interaction capability of the system. In a low-capacity international system, physical area matters; states are associated with their neighbors by economic and security concerns as a sub system to international system by making regional system. So there is also a power struggle in these subsystems and have their own power structure which can directly influence the whole international power structure. An increase in the interaction capability of the international system helps the actors to go beyond their direct neighborhoods; these new contacts increase the system to dominant international

⁷⁵ Walter Mattli. *The Logic of Regional Integration: Europe and Beyond*,(Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), p. 40

relations⁷⁶. Regionalism vanished and re-emerges as they are altered by various monetary, political, and cultural factors⁷⁷. Seldom, political and military enticement promotes the formation of super regions such as the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), but with the late 1980s, sub regional and micro regional organizations have become more frequent. This development can be considered as an emergence of new power blocs in international system. The increasing importance of the global–regional relationship has led to the importance of sub regional relations, even though the nation–region nexus is still mainly based on state-centric terms⁷⁸.

In the post-Cold War international system, regional systems got prominence because there was increasing demand for crisis management for humanitarian and other political reasons, neither United States nor any other power has revealed a motivation to accept the full liability for running these regional crises. David Lake and Patrick Morgan (1997) edited book *Regional Orders*⁷⁹ is the advocacy of regional concerts and the measurement of their practicability. Paul Papayoanou (1997) has explained that monetary interests of the big powers have compelled them to come together in regional security arrangements. Rosecrans and Schott renowned the importance of central and regional concerts by presenting that the main duty of the central or world concert is to put together former opponents into a mutual and cooperative security system

⁷⁶ Raimo Vyrinen. "Regionalism: Old and New": *International Studies Review*, Vol. 5, No. 1 (Mar., 2003), Blackwell Publishing, p.27

⁷⁷ Levis Martin W. and Karen E Wigen. *The Myth of Continent: A Critique of Metageography*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997.p.58

⁷⁸ Raimo Vyrinen. "Regionalism: Old and New": *International Studies Review*, Vol. 5, No. 1 (Mar., 2003), Blackwell Publishing, p. 38.

⁷⁹ Lake David A. and Patrick M Morgan. *Regional Order; Building Security in a New World*, (State College: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1997).

and the effective regional concert can also be made up to handle a particular security problem within a region and to avoid unilateral interventions among states that would only lead to a worsening of the international order. So regional organizations and regimes decrease the security expenses of the central concert and eliminate probable conflicts from its program⁸⁰. This point of view is too fine because in case of Bosnia and Kosovo regional instability was the cause of coercive intervention by a central concert due to lack of strong regional concert.

Transformations in the international arrangements and new security challenges have driven the expansion of regionalism to grant order and stability in the regions⁸¹. Regional inclinations can widen export markets, grant assurance against malfunction, and support competitive liberalization and those affected outside may react either by inclusion into the region or by developing their own regional organization. New sort of regions like currency regions are functional and confined only by the acceptability of single currency in its political sphere⁸². In Cohen's definition, "currency regionalism occurs whenever money's authoritative domain extends significantly beyond the legal jurisdiction of its issuing government⁸³". Such as dollar is widely accepted in the area of Latin America and Euro in Bosnia, Kosovo, and Serbia by which they can be a part of main regions. However inter-regional agreements have not been much capable to remove common conflicts due to presence of power struggle among regional states but some policy makers suggests that today's great powers can come together with the small powers in making a true arrangement for collective security. So this theory rationalizes

⁸⁰ Richard Rosecrance and Peter Schott. *Concerts and Regional Interventions*. (Hong Kong: Macmillan Education Ltd, 1989).p.64

⁸¹ Raimo Vyyrynen. "Regionalism: Old and New": *International Studies Review*, Vol. 5, No. 1 (Mar., 2003), Blackwell Publishing.p. 34 :

⁸² Benjamin J. Cohen. *The Political Economy of Currency Regions*. In *The Political Economy of Regionalism*. ed. Edward D. Mansfield and Helen V. Milner. (New York:Columbia University Press, 1997).p. 58

⁸³ Benjamin J. Cohen. *The Political Economy of Currency Regions*. In *The Political Economy of Regionalism*.p.62.

the formation of universal organization in multilateral approach towards peace under circumstances of multi-polarity⁸⁴.

The concept of the 'regional great power' is associated to the major powers of alliance groups of the Second World War and to the emergence of newly independent states system in Africa and parts of Asia. Third World enlistment has seen oscillation of regional great powers in number of phases of the period after the Second World War. The status of the regional great powers are limited to regional interrelationship but have much role in the international power structure by challenging hegemon or other regional powers and can be cause of multi-polarity. The regional hierarchies of states are also not completely independent from anarchical nature of international relations which offers each state to come forward and open power struggle. So regional great power must have following characteristics

- "a state which is geographically a part of delineated region
- a state which is able to stand up against any coalition of other states in the region
- a state which is highly influential in regional affairs
- a state which, contrary to a 'middle power', might also be a great power on the world scale in addition to its regional standing"⁸⁵.

Insofar as the region is an international state system in miniature and the regional great power is just a great power and has a dominant position or behave as hegemon within the regional hierarchy of states so is able to defend itself against a coalition of other parties and balances other forces and stabilizes the regional system having its own sphere of influence⁸⁶.

⁸⁴ Charles W. Kegley JR. and Eugene R Wittkopf, World Politics Trends And Transformation, ed 5th (NewYork: Martins Press, 1995), p.109

⁸⁵ Charles W. Kegley JR. and Eugene R Wittkopf, World Politics Trends And Transformation . pp.12

⁸⁶ Ibid. p.7

Balance of Power

Balance of power is one of the main characteristic in international system as changes in the balance of power over the past five hundred years have frequently led to the outbreak of a great-power war. Balance of power is not only a state policy but also function as a force which provide equilibrium to international as well as regional system. Balance of power is also considered to be founding principle of the society of states in international system, for example in Concert of Europe. It helps to limit conflict, grant compensation, and avert hegemony, eventually overcome war. In context of liberal approach for the stable and peaceful multi-polar system balance of power among states is inevitable and in context of realist approach balance of power is inherently unstable because states always struggle to have more power which destabilize this balance. Realist Rules for balance of power is a competition among states always trying to increase their capabilities against each other, as one state to get more power and other follow the pattern to balance that. The balance of military power is now a day seems to lose influential value in contrast with the balance of economic power.

Kenneth Waltz identified that 'a balance of power can exist whenever following two conditions are present; one that the order of international politics must be anarchic and second it must be having multiple units, poles or powers desiring to exist. He further explains that in a multi-polar system states rely on alliances to maintain the balance and security. He considers this as unstable because there are too many powers to let any of them to show a clear difference between allies and opponents in multi-polar international power structure.

CHAPTER FOUR

Emergence of New International Power Structure Domination of Multipolarity on Unipolarity

“The old geopolitical order is passing from the scene and a new order is being born. The order is likely to bear little resemblance to the familiar world of the last half of the twentieth century. In the next millennium, humanity’s fate will be shaped by a new set of winners and losers”.

(Jacques Attali, President, European Bank for Reconstruction and Development, 1991) ⁸⁷

Structure of world system is usually described in power distribution, number of great powers, nature of their power and alliances. During the bipolar world United States and Soviet Union were the main powers but the post Cold War world is different from that. The downfall of Russia brings a striking power transition in the power structure believed to reshape world in uni-polar or multi-polar. In early 1991 when United States gloriously fought the Persian Gulf War, then it started a uni-polar moment but the situation did not seem to last in 21st century due to number of factors. Samuel Huntington argues about current international system in *Foreign Affairs*, that world ‘is now passing through uni-multipolar decades than it will come into a truly multi-polar 21st century’ in which many major powers will exist. The current international system is considered to have characteristics of both uni-polar and multi-polar world. While it is more prone to multi-polar because the dominance of United States as hegemonic power is challenged and it has also failed in playing its role as a hegemonic stabilizer and maintain a peaceful system. The chronological facts point out that era of a world has arrived in which two or more great powers will mount to confront the financial distinction and political influence of

⁸⁷Charles W. Kegley JR. and Eugene R Wittkopf, *World Politics: Trends And Transformation*, p. 73

United States, even if it's armed supremacy remains unchallenged. In this way the recognized states which are ascending in economic power relative to the United States are China, Japan Germany and India⁸⁸.

Factors Supporting the Emergence of Uni-polar Future

America started a uni-polar moment after the end of Cold War and there are number of factors which lead to the possibility of uni-polar power structure. American neo-conservatives are struggling to make it hegemonic and uni-polar sees the world as *Pax Americana* world in which the interest of America should be the interest of the world.⁸⁹ Vietnam and the imperial conservative perception propose that the United States is the most powerful nation in the world today. And will continue to remain so far into the probable future because in military power with its thirteen aircraft carrier groups, an excess of high-technology weapons and its nuclear store, the United States has reached unprecedented strength by conquering key technologies. The United States Special Operations groups are not only extremely provoked, skilled and qualified but also prepared with the newest equipment such as night-vision and GPS apparatus, which can carry out round-the-clock operations in any weather or territory. The United States military communications systems consists of sophisticated, and the United States logistical capability like large transport aircrafts, United States still has some 800 bases and 1 million troops around the world⁹⁰, all based on some 80 percent of the world's military-related research and can quickly deploy large numbers of troops into distant battlefields. In addition, United States claims that they are able to commanding and fighting two large-scale wars in two

⁸⁸ Charles W. Kegley JR. and Eugene R Wittkopf, *World Politics Trends And Transformation*. p. 106

⁸⁹ Iqbal Hussain, *Terrorism in Action Civilization at War* (Lahore: Bonn Publications, 2003), pp. 63-64.

⁹⁰ Chalmers Johnson. *Nemesis: The Last Days of the American Republic*. 1st ed. (New York: Metropolitan Books, February 6, 2007), p. 223

different locations simultaneously. The new technologies help it more in its advancement and critics said it is embarking a new version of containment as empire of bases. United States is also using NATO and European armies as foot soldiers serving United States imperialistic interests.⁹¹ Finally, no one matches America's overwhelming store of mass-destruction weapons, which the United States rejected to decrease. Economically its constituent parts are enormous powers in their own for example, the state of California on its own is the world's sixth or seventh largest economy .The United States economy creates and produces one third of the world's goods and services. In the sphere of soft power⁹² America remains superlative in its culture, literature, music, films and even fast-food are the standard for millions all over the world; its newspapers, magazines and television channels rule the media and foreign students wants assemble to its universities; foreign researchers work in their labs. Away from entertainment the United States solely composed 50% of the world's software market and has approximately half of the world's internet transfer⁹³. The massive part of the worlds IT companies and biotech companies are still found in the United States. The United States is the third most populous country in the world. In the 21st century, the United States similarly should be able to make its leadership welcomed by the world community because the Soviet empire is collapsed, Japan in recent years has been left behind without absolute rivalry with the United States, and European countries become weak exactly when they became close allies of the United States⁹⁴. The majority of the Pentagon's operations covering Iraqi Kurdistan, Somalia, Haiti, Bosnia and Serbia to global war on terrorism took place in the claim of "humanitarian

⁹¹ Ghali Hassan, "NATO: Tool of United States Imperialism", *Countercurrents*, August 25, 2008, <http://www.countercurrents.org.com>

⁹² Joseph S. Jr. Nye. *Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics*. (New York: *Public Affairs*, 2004).4th Chapter wielding Soft Power. URL:belfercenter.ksg.harvard.edu/files/joe_nye_wielding_soft_power.pdf

⁹³ Jane Essays. "Multipolarity and the world".URL: <http://www.ai-jane.org/MultipolarityAndTheWorld.php>

intervention”, admired by the United Nations Security Council. United States as the exclusive superpower had obtained such vivacity that it meets little confrontation in changing the United Nations Security Council into a practical addition to its State Department. And when, in the case of Iraq, the Bush administration remained unsuccessful in start of 2003 to force the Security Council to its will, but it went forward with its attack and former President George W. Bush’s this invasion of Iraq in 2003 was among the United States 10th extensive military invasion as one after every 15 months making a world record⁹⁵. American leadership is also functioning to firm its position as a dominant state in world power structure as former President Bush’s 2002 National Security Strategy confirms the uni-polar inclination of the United States foreign policy. According to that policy, the United States has the right of unilaterally pre-emptive attack on other sovereign states without the approval of the United Nations. All this made United States concurrently a system maker and advantage taker in struggle of making itself a hegemonic state and it may have operated its own methods in the past, but it can no more count on getting its own way⁹⁶.

Factors Behind the Emergence of New International Power Structure of Multi-polarity Dominating on Uni-polarity

The attempt of United States to preserve its supremacy motivates some states to work to overcome it. United States authority over other states has changed in important ways. During the Cold War the United States controlled the global financial modification efforts. Its aptitude

⁹⁵ Dilip Hiro. *After Empire: The Birth of a Multipolar World*, (New York : Nations Book), 2009, p. 268.

⁹⁶ Michael Mastanduno, “System Makers and Privilege Taker: US Power and The International Political Economy”, *World Politics*, Vol 61, No1, (Jan, 2009), p. 140.

to succeed those efforts after the Cold War has been considerably compromised. The United States is not bearing up its preponderant control as in Cold War and it have no more benefits from the similar security leverage it once possessed in United Nations Security Council specially in case of Iraq war. France and other European countries opposed its policy and now it is facing great criticism over global war on terrorism and the more unilaterally the Bush Administration has acted, the more China has championed multilateralism⁹⁷. Even United States is the only state competent of projecting armed power all over the world but this unipolarity in the military area, is not preventing the speedy development of multi-polarity in the geopolitical and economic spheres. Major Powers, in the quest of rising security and control, will unite forces with other states that share the same interests. These alliances will change as interests will change although every major power's original identity will be preserved. Europe, China, Russia, Latin America and other regions and nations are quietly taking measures having common purpose of taking America down to size. Globalization extensively improved movement and communication systems among states and has also grant these states with more chances of drafting new bilateral or multilateral measures in trade, military actions, education and social progress to guarantee their financial capability and security. States which are prosperous in natural resources are now advancing their power and position on the global and regional level and also trying to enhance their soft power⁹⁸.

The traditional perspective of multi-polarity is always associated with the balance of power and currently changed system of balance of power among new power poles is also rising as the

⁹⁷ Henrik Schmiegelow, "Asia's International Order," *Internationale Politik (IP) Global Edition*, Fall 2007, p.17

⁹⁸ Fayodor Lukyanov, "Russian Dilemmas in Multipolar World". *Rethinking Russia*, Vol 63, No2, Spring/Summer 2010. pp.28. URL <http://jia.sipa.columbia.edu/russian-dilemmas-multipolar-world>

international environment itself has been altered and since the definition of power has also become less rigid. Power may be hard, soft, or economic, and states have it in different extent. While deficient in one form of power, a state may hold other types of power, globalizing economy structured the ever-increasing interdependence among countries, which further modified the doctrine of a feasible balance of power. The World without the West is also becoming preferentially and greatly interconnected. This generates the establishment and expansion of new parallel international subsystems, with their own unique set of rules, institutions, behavior of doing things and currencies. A newest multi-polar world order is emerging from the view of countries that are capable of having power and active role at regional level; this has reduced the United States' domination of power⁹⁹. This multi-polar system and related balance of power has permitted small states to become empowered and capable to have a negotiating foreign policy, and making new aid and trade agreements openly. It has also given them an opportunity to become more practical in their financial affairs and claimed world prices for their resources.

America-centered world economy is now changing into global one by opening a greater range of other international and domestic economic options for states. In the economic ground, the growing GDPs of super nations like India are given the chances to well educated people and trained persons at home as never before. In the early 1980s, 75% of the graduates of the high-caliber Indian Institutes of Technology migrated to North America. At the present the number is losing to 5%. Magnetizing the most excellent minds from the Third World has been very

⁹⁹ Fayodor Lukyanov, "Russian Dilemmas in Multipolar World". p.29.URL <http://jia.sipa.columbia.edu/russian-dilemmas-multipolar-world>

advantageous for the United States. As India showed that United States will drop this precious asset in the future decades. In general, with growing literacy rate in Latin America, Africa and Asia, the figure of educated non-Western citizens is increasing rapidly. In case of media and television, the mass of the world's inhabitants is receiving information about the proceedings in their states and overseas by media technology in their local languages and more and more from their own viewpoint more willingly than American or British. All such progress will decrease the authority and control of the United States and assist the recreational area for China, Russia, India, European Union, and Brazil.

According to Johan Gaultung's theory of 'Structural Imperialism' the new system of peripheries and core is suggesting a multi-polar world with multiple core powers especially with reference of market, political, communication and cultural areas. For example Japan, Britain, France, India, China and America have their own definite market area. The major control points for international financial institutions, international air traffic is in London, New York and Paris and Tokyo. The United States act and declaration of having right to unilaterally attack other sovereign states without the approval of the United Nations has made other countries feel threatened and this will provoke higher rates of arm races. Post-World War II history shows that for countries small, average, or great are convinced to acquire nuclear weapons because it is about the most basic requirement for the survival of the regime or nation and provide the ability of causing Mutually Assured Destruction (MAD), and acts as an exclusively powerful deterrent. In this reference joining the nuclear club has also proved an effective strategy for survival which States are using against United States. Most recent case is North Korea as Bush's aggressive policy to it directs its ruler, Kim Jong Il, to speed up the nuclear arms plan and conduct test of nuclear bomb in October 2006. He as a result enhanced

his negotiating power. Eventually he managed to eliminate North Korea from the catalog of states that help international terrorism, and it gets out from the list of members of the “Axis of Evil.” So the world is multi-polar in sort of nuclear powers which decreased United States power of influence. This is the case that United States is suspecting Pakistan and Iran’s nuclear plants which may provide a nuclear umbrella to the whole Islamic world and working to stop the proliferation of nuclear weapons into third world countries as it gives enormous power to a state to act in international system.

Geographically Russia is still possessing largest land mass or territory being part of two continents, than its Canada, China and United States respectively. On other hand rising regionalism is a prominent factor affecting United States dominance in world affairs. Today regions are geographic, market, security, community and interest based having their own leader state which represents them internationally. This phenomenon has caused the emergence of new multiple powers on world level like China, Russia, India, Japan, Brazil and Malaysia etc. These regions are countering the United States hegemony by reorganizing themselves and diverting themselves from world dependence to their relative region. Interdependence among them and common issues has lead to cooperation among them. On other hand dependence of America on other countries for natural resources has decreased its capability to use its military power against them and have increased their bargaining power as dependency is inversely related to one’s structural power¹⁰⁰. America is also facing number of challenges in those regions where it was operating being a dominate State to save its own interests like in Middle East. The importance of oil and gas has radically increased and three-fifths of oil and two-fifths of natural gas reserves are in the Gulf region and the current authoritarian and semi-authoritarian leaders

¹⁰⁰ Steve Chan. *International Relations in Perspective the Pursuit of Security, Welfare, Justice*, (London: Collier Macmillan Publishers, 1984), pp. 325.

of these oil rich Gulf countries have developed their authority from a mix of tribalism, representative democracy with Islam and serving United States interests. These royal autocrats have associated themselves with Washington because they believe that only the Pentagon can provide them with a security. The new wave of transfer of power from the hereditary ruler to the popularly elected representatives will almost definitely lead the democratic governments in these Gulf States and to distance themselves from the United States. But their popularly elected governments will recognize that they can defend their countries from foreign aggression by intensifying the 28-year-old Gulf Cooperation Council by including Iran and Iraq, as now that these two neighbors have omitted their past rivalry behind. That would make the Pentagon's presence in the Gulf superseded and remove tension in this important region with liberation of its oil resources from American domination. According to Nye the multi-level interdependence has caused the structure of power distribution in world system as a layer cake. The top layer with military is unipolar because in the international system there is no supplementary military power similar to the United States. At the economic layer of the cake of the international system is tripolar consisting of an Asian bloc is created around the yen, a Western Hemisphere bloc around the US dollar and a European bloc clustering around the Euro or the German mark. The last worldwide layer has a dissemination of powers because of low-level conflicts.

“Observing the current situation American Secretary of State Hillary Clinton assured the balance ‘away from a multipolar world and toward a multipartner world with prioritizing rising powers such as Brazil, China, India, and Russia. ‘We will lead by inducing greater cooperation among a greater number of actors and reducing competition, tilting the balance away from a multipolar world and toward a multipartner world. According to the historian like Paul Kennedy predicts the balance of military power will shift over the coming 20 to 30 years, creating a truly multipolar world around 2009. ‘If the patterns of history are any guide, the multipolar economic balance will begin to shift the military balances,’ he

later tells the *New York Times*. Secretary of State Madeleine Albright, who earlier call the United States as the 'indispensable nation,' claims that United States is not looking to 'establish and enforce' a unipolar world. Economic integration, she says, has already created 'the kind of world that might even be called 'multipolar.'" In A *New York Times* editorial it was described that "emergence of a multipolar world,' with China taking 'a parallel place at the table along with other centers of power, like Brussels or Tokyo". In its 'Global Trends 2025' report, the United States National Intelligence Council on November 20, 2008 declared the advent of a 'global multipolar system' as one of the world's 'relative certainties' within two decades"¹⁰¹.

For the first time in modern history, leading emerging nations have a real chance to shape the evolution of the international monetary system. The main participants of this era are the BRIC countries—Brazil, Russia, India, and China—whose rising existence on the global stage has become the essential characteristic of the world economic settings of the 21st century. Due to fast economic growth, growing monetary influence, and excellent prudence of boldness, the BRICs are a powerful force at the back of developing conversion of the international monetary system afar of United State's-dominated system to the direction of the regionally settled and in which developing states are main powers. Europe with the 16 member states of the euro area is another source of force on the international monetary system to modify. So both the BRICs and the euro area will give evolution of the new international monetary system, as they will effort to enhance their position and will shape the system according to their purpose. The current remarkable changes in comparative economic powers and the profound interdependencies

¹⁰¹ David Kampf. "The Emergence of a Multipolar World", URL: http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2009/10/19/new_order

between the United States and other major actors will bring important decisions regarding the international monetary system and will lead it in the interests of Europe and fast-growing rising markets (the BRICs for sure, but also for such countries as Korea, Mexico, and Saudi Arabia). Among some calculations about the decline of United States and rise of other powers one is budget and economic crisis as there is a huge budget deficit of about \$500 billion¹⁰²; furthermore the trade deficit is some \$200 billion and still rising so it is hard to sustain deficit financing and a huge public debt with massive borrowings from abroad. It is recorded that some \$2 trillion in United States Treasury Bills are held by Asians, including \$750 billion by the Japanese so there is a deep and rising debt burden on United States¹⁰³. From history it has been concluded that no power has been able to sustain itself for long such as a net debtor. With such economic crises America is facing a problem of increasing unemployment. United States. is a major importer of people and now the demographics of the United States are also changing making it more heterogeneous society in nature because there will be more and more non-white Hispanics, it is estimated that they will reach about 24%, blacks 14% and Asian 8% together making 50% of the United States population¹⁰⁴. California is American state where Americans are less populated than the migrated people. While the militaristic approach of the American administration is supported primarily by white Christian fundamentalist men and if the number of non white Hispanics increases America may face much greater opposition for foreign interventions and it can also bring American nationalism under threat. All this can be taken as a decline of American superiority from its own land. American military superiority is also questioned when it remain unable to secure itself from 9/11 Al Qaeda's attacks so it is of no use

¹⁰² http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/United_States_public_debt

¹⁰³ Rajeev Srinivasan, "Pax Indica and a multipolar world". Rediff.com. July 12, 2004.
<http://www.rediff.com/news/2004/jul/12rajeev.html>

¹⁰⁴ Jennifer Cheseman Day, U.S. Census Bureau Population Profile of the United States National Population Projections. <http://www.census.gov/population/www/pop-profile/natproj.html>

against the suicide bombers. There are also some ideological challenges for American capitalism as new ideas from China and India are arising as its alternatives and the idea of Chinese democracy based on single party is different from western democracies. The ideology underlying the war on terrorism presented by United States inevitably leads to a state of perpetual war during which government could take whatever actions they liked to maintain themselves in power. The Bush administration wanted to rationalize the Iraq war by connecting it to “freedom agenda”; and abruptly the encouragement of democratic system also became a main propaganda in the war against terrorism. To many people around the world, America’s sponsorship of democracy sounds “lot like an excuse for furthering United States hegemony” and promoting democracy became controversial because to justify the Iraq war the Bush administration presented the use of military to establish democracy and recommended that democracy has a code for military intervention and regime change.¹⁰⁵ So American ideas of freedom and democracy promotions are negatively used by Bush administration and it used overly antagonistic campaigns in dealing with foreign governments. During nineteenth century America was against European colonialism and Soviet Union’s containment and now America by itself is following the same policies to maintain its power. So In the current scenario America must have to face the liberation movements wherever it is intervening. The brutal violence cannot create a safer and dependable system of security for America and Americans.¹⁰⁶ American intervention in Asia have a motivation as White House believes that the only way to manage the explosive growth of the America’s greatest competitor China is by seizing its primary source of energy.¹⁰⁷ This creates a direct threat to the china, Russia and Iran. Fears of

¹⁰⁵Francis Fukuyama, “The fall of America Inc”. News week ,October 13,2008, p.27.

¹⁰⁶ Iqbal Hussain, Terrorism in Action Civilization at War (Lahore: Bonn, 2003), p.211.

¹⁰⁷ Pao Yu Ching, “US. Dominance over Asia”. Asia Pacific Research Network.2006,<http://www.globalresearchca/index.php?context=va&aid=4999>

United States unipolarity inspire China and Russia to sign a 'Joint Declaration on a Multipolar World and the Establishment of a New International Order' in Moscow and agreed to have joint Russo-Chinese military exercises. Due to the collaboration of China and Russia, the international society established its initial glance of the mechanism of a multipolar world. It was the beginning case of the model probably developing in the future decades, with numerous major powers like America, the European Union, China, Russia, India, Iran, Brazil and South Africa to be forceful on the world globe. America may be able to threaten its enemies but it cannot impose its leadership on friends by using military power as American did by direct drone attacks on Pakistan. It also has threatened Iran. America is supporting India and making nuclear treaties with India and in Afghanistan it has make puppet government during global war on terror. All this has created instability in the region and it will raise the clashes among India and Pakistan and in the region by this it is making Pakistan as a bad example of its alignment. The most negative outcome is that it will lead to the continuation of struggle for the liberation from such aggression and getting back the command of over natural resources and material economy from the American grip and also induce the nations to denote the major part of their economic resources to national defense programmes¹⁰⁸. With such great military it is believed that America may not be able to use military option in the case of Europe and if European governments became more self assertive and even more importantly if they start to adopt more business-friendly economic policies while Washington runs up immense foreign debts to finance its military buildup. America will face much tougher competition on the cultural and

¹⁰⁸ Giriraj Shah, ed, Encyclopedia of International Terrorism (New Delhi: Anmol Publications, 2002), p.141.

economic front¹⁰⁹. As European Union is getting expansion day by day and value of 'euro' is increasing against dollar and dollar's position in world economics is also under threat which can lead to a decline in United States economic power¹¹⁰. American delusion of being hegemonic state was wrecked when in August 2008, the Russian Federation hit Georgia hard after Georgian Mikheil Saakashvili ordered the bombardment of Tskhinvali, the capital of the region of South Ossetia, and America was unable to stop by remaining inactive to play a hegemonic role, all former President Bush did was just to condemn the Kremlin's military onslaught verbally. This Russian-Georgian fight signaled the end of the United States acting as the sole superpower militarily. Now United States does not live in a unipolar system¹¹¹ but in multipolar world segmented on regions in all sorts. ASEAN Plus Three (APT) can be regarded in this perspective, which bring together the member countries of the Association of Southeast Asia Nations with China, Japan and South Korea. This group has the capability to be the world's biggest trade bloc, dwarfing the European Union and North American Free Trade Association. The expanding ties of the ASEAN Plus Treaty member states symbolize a major diplomatic conquer over the United States. On other hand the European Union's speedy advancement toward military autonomy even American objections proved futile to stop the European Union opening its own military planning organization, free from the Washington and NATO alliance. Europe is building up its own speedy reaction strength. And regardless of United States opposition, the European Union is establishing Galileo, its own satellite network, which will smash the domination of the United States over global satellite system with National

¹⁰⁹ Iqbal Hussain, *Terrorism in Action Civilization at War* (Lahore: London Bonn, 2003), p.73.

¹¹⁰ Rohini Hensmen, "Averting World War III, Ending Dollar Hegemony And UNITED STATES Imperialism" *Countercurrents*, November 17,2007, <http://www.countercurrents.org>

¹¹¹ <http://www.chsbs.cmich.edu/fattah/courses/usf/15.html>

Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA). The contribution of China in Europe's Galileo project has presented new example of technological cooperation among new power poles. China have common interest with other contending space powers in checking American control of space for military and commercial uses as it is also associated with Brazil to launch satellites.

In other areas like global moral and ethical institutional developments, the United States is becoming the follower than a leading actor as Europe has prohibited the death sentence and torture, while the United States is a chief practitioner of such executions. Especially in case of Global War on Terrorism the jails of Guantanamo presented a worst example of inhuman imprisonment torture. United States has also not ratified Kyoto Protocol some laws related to human rights specially women rights. United States is also dominated by Japan being the biggest donating state.

The non state actors are also playing a major role in international relations which gives them unusual power in international power structure. These non state actors are international organizations, regional organizations, international regime, movements, Multinational companies etc made by the collaboration of states to achieve some common goals. They also put some check on countries power use. They enjoys a power in different manner as can put sanctions on states, can force the domestic governments to fulfill the require demands, being mediator to resolve the conflicts have bargaining power, can provide help to resolve the problems among and within States, increase economic and security cooperation and cultural exchange specially in case of regional organizations to be beneficent for the whole region. Multinational companies are major source of economic growth and can directly bring a change in countries economy by changing their policies. States are also getting dependent upon them

for the achievement of certain purposes so these Non State actors have a special place in international power structure with multiple powerful states which can not be neglected. Major non state actors are United Nations and its specialized agencies, BRIC, European Union, Organization of Islamic Conferences (OIC), Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN), African Union (AU) , Shanghai Cooperation Organization(SCO), Arab Union, World bank, International Monetary Fund, G-8, and Multi National Corporations includes software, food, electronic and machine producers. Some important international movements are mostly liberation movements like movement of making Kurdistan etc. There are also some terrorist organizations which are trying to get position in international power structure and have challenged the sovereignty and of many states like United States by Al-Qaeda.

United Nations has also invested in the new multi centrism by the function which it offer to the all states by means of voting procedures, especially given to the small states, each one of which reckon to the degree that similar to any big power and must be encouraged in the General Assembly that no single bloc became able to control of the required two thirds majority.¹¹² As the other powers are getting momentum the position of United States is also declined as sole actor in international organizations.

New political anxieties between Washington, Venezuela, Moscow and Tehran have definitely placed the world power structures from Unipolarity to Multipolarity. Many political analyst believe that the Iranian leaders assail on the United States and European policies, and Moscow's rising influence in international relationships are apparent symbol that the world is shifting from a unipolar world to a multipolar world with some new powers like Russia, Japan,

¹¹² Stanley Hoffmann. "International Organizations and the System", International Organizations. Vol. 24, No. 3 (Summer1970), MIT Press, pp. 394

Germany, Iran, India, China and Brazil which are also regional powers and new power poles of the 21st century¹¹³.

¹¹³ Sofa Jawaro. "Uni-Polarity or Multipolarity: Is There a Shift in The Global Balance of Power? (Part II)": THE SWORD OF TRUTH, 2009 April 7 URL: <http://sofawarrior.blog.com/2009/04/07/uni-polarity-or-multi-polarity-is-there-a-shift-in-global-balance-of-power-part-iv/>

CHAPTER FIVE

Location of Different Actors in Future Multipolar Power Structure

The enormous and heterogeneous multipolar international power structure can be converted into subsystems due to the patterns of regionalism. The position or location of actors by their role in international politics is not clear or easily definable in this power structure because it is not hegemonic, hierarchical or bipolar in which their role and position can be clearly defined. This emerging multipolar system is complex in nature because of having number of hierarchies at different level, competition among actors, means of cooperation and approaches of controlling conflicts have also made it more difficult to portray. In this multipolar system states will play a dual role one directly and second indirectly by being participant of international organizations which has increased the complexities of the system. The new international multipolar power structure will have major powers, middle powers, small powers and international organizations as non-state power entities which will reflect different states at same time and regional trends of new era. The world had great powers as G-7 which were made after the first energy crises while G-8 after Soviet Union's fall and now it have G-20 with emerging markets and G-77 with developing countries. So the location of different actors is divided among major powers, middle powers and small powers on the basis of their direct participation in the emerging multipolar international power structure and the role of international organizations can be discussed separately.

Great Powers in Emerging Multipolar Power Structure

Major Powers can be defined on the basis of economy, military capability and their participation in the international system. The major powers of future international power structure are China, United States, Russia, India, European Block, Japan and Brazil. All these powers are regional powers as well and all these countries are the main participants of the bilateral and multilateral treaties in reference of trade, defense pacts, and culture and of other universal issues like environment. They are much involved in more and more trade with each other and had largest pool of people who could be molded and shaped to contribute back to the society and also to be good with the world. China competently utilizes the available world supplies to achieve its personal objectives so in that way created the most constructive environment for self-development. Presently China's economy is rising at an extraordinary rate. China is largest trading partner of India and Brazil. It also has big market in Africa and other regions of the world. It is consuming 25% of the worlds steel market¹¹⁴ and becoming the third largest importers of energy in the world (United States being 1st and the European Union being 2nd). China's army is still large and technologically is now much developed and strengthened. China has an average of 10% annual Gross Domestic Product (GDP) increase and was ranked as the second world economy after the United States in 2009 (World Bank, 2010)¹¹⁵. Its GDP is more than the total of the BRI(Brazil, Russia and India) states together and it is predicted to continue to develop at this rate in the next decade. On other hand China has used its own power to remove the poverty; it has much better system of transportation and communication than United States. The difference of rural and urban areas in China is big but in future it is predicted

¹¹⁴ Stephen Cooney, CRS Report for Congress. "Steel Price and Policy issue"
<http://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/misc/RL32333.pdf>

¹¹⁵ Facts about China: ECONOMY & GDP 2010-2011, <http://www.china-mike.com/facts-about-china/economy-investment-business-statistics/>

that it will be finished. It is hardly adjusting itself to solve the problems created by its 56 ethnic identity groups. On world level China being socialist state start following world trade rules to get more strengthen and has introduced some new laws like intellectual property laws after joining World Trade Organization. It is also resolving its issues with the neighboring states and its expanding its influence via soft means like trade and mutual projects of human resources development which can be long lasting unlike United States which used military means for the same purpose. The current recession is based on American economic policies while China is the country which is helping the world to come out from recession before it was United States as after Second World War it helped Europe by Marshal Plan to come out from recession. China has made many bilateral relationships especially with the countries having natural resources as it became the number one customer of Saudi Oil.

A rapidly increasing power is also India. India had been ranked as the fourth world economy¹¹⁶. Its escalation rate is such that it is considered that Indian GDP would exceed both China and the United States only if its development continues with the present rates. It has the largest number of technocrats in the world and making rapid development in all fields like technology, communication and research. It has good relations with all other major powers of the world especially with America as it made nuclear and economic deals with America. America also wants India's support to sustain the status quo while Russia and China are trying to induce India that India's welfare will be best provided in a multipolar world where there will be no single top power but will have several powerful centers which will help to maintain stability and balance of power in the world. Russia and India voted jointly in the United Nations opposite to

¹¹⁶ Businessnomics, "Top Facts You Cannot Ignore About Indian Economy"<http://businesswatch.in/top-facts-you-cannot-ignore-about-indian-economy/> | Jul 04, 2011

America about 90% of the circumstances, at one time¹¹⁷. Russia also helped India in military, steel, civil nuclear energy, and chemicals. India is also making good relations with its neighboring states like Sri Lanka, Bhutan and Bangladesh making itself a regional power as there is a free trade agreement between India and Sri Lanka. Therefore India is important player and a major factor in the new world order.

Russia and Brazil are other major powers and were positioned as the sixth and ninth highest ranking in the world's leading economies between 2005 and 2009, with an yearly GDP boost up with 5.4% and 3.2% respectively according to the World Bank report 2010¹¹⁸. Brazil is strong power in Latin America while Russia is well positioned in Eastern Europe. Both states are favoring multipolar international system, making cordial relations to all states, investing in Middle East and African region and trying to have self relying energy resources. Western Block having European Union including Britain, Germany and France as top ranked economic powers with United States are also major power centers. European Union with common foreign policy is main actor in international system. It is going more self interested than following Pax-Americana policies. Especially France is acting more unilaterally and independently against American policies.

Middle Powers in the Emerging Multipolar Power Structure

Within restricted structure some states have more broad interests and a capability for acting solitarily as the regional great powers like Egypt, Iran and Saudi Arabia in the Arab world, Argentina in South America and the Republic of South Africa on the African continent, Pakistan in South Asia, and North Korea in the Northeast Asia. These Middle Powers are

¹¹⁷ <http://thelinkpaper.ca/?p=2722>

¹¹⁸ <http://www.saopaulo2011.ipsa.org/sites/default/files/papers/paper-1148.pdf>

covering one of the given criteria like Gross Domestic Products value, resources, strategic position and military value. The future ten rising economic centers are Mexico, Turkey, Indonesia, Thailand, Saudi Arabia, Taiwan, Iran, Poland, Argentina and South Korea¹¹⁹. These states are rich in natural resources and some are also militarily much stronger as more than 55% of the world's oil reserves is present in just five countries which are Saudi Arabia, Iraq, Iran, Kuwait and the United Arab Emirates¹²⁰, and over 55% of the world's natural gas reserves are in just three countries which are Iran, Qatar and Russia¹²¹. Turkey is also making relations with many countries specially with BRIC countries and Turkey is showing more true independent policies by not allowing United States to use its soil against Iraq. The recent Brazil/Turkey proposal to neutralize the nuclear consultation with Iran shows that the United States and its allies can no longer treat the world as their playground¹²² as Moscow also has shown its confidence in Iran's nuclear power plant considering it for peaceful uses. In the Middle East and North Africa number of contestants are struggling for regional dominance, but no stable position of singular great power has been achieved by any state. With military position Israel is a regional power. In South Asia India has a dominant power in terms of population, military capabilities and economic strength. Some time South Asia shows a bipolar region with India and Pakistan. In South East Asia Indonesia, Malaysia and Thailand are the emerging powers. East Asia includes the great powers of world like Soviet Union, China and Japan. Australia and Oceania is a region, dominated by Australia. Africa has two major powers- Nigeria and the

¹¹⁹ Martin Walker, "The Coming of 'The Ten'". The Global Business Policy Council. January 2010. URL: <http://www.atkearney.com/index.php/Publications/the-coming-of-the-tenq.html>

¹²⁰ http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Oil_reserves

¹²¹ <http://bakerinstitute.org/programs/energy-forum/research/natural-gas/geopoliticsofLNG.html>

¹²² David Kampf. "The Emergence of a Multipolar World". Foreign Policy Association. Oct 20th 2009. URL: <http://foreignpolicyblogs.com/2009/10/20/the-emergence-of-a-multipolar-world/>

Republic of South Africa. In South America Argentina is the major candidate for regional power other than Brazil.

Small Powers in the Emerging Multipolar Power Structure

Small powers are those which are in some way participant in international system by bilateral or multilateral treaties. These countries have natural resources can be less dependent and believed as real powers. On other hand the voting system of United Nations also gave them a right to behave independently in international system. They are also influential at regional level. These are developing states and have the customer power. They can use this customer power against the countries whose economy is based on exports like United States. Most of the small powers have natural resources and their economy is based on the export of these natural reserves which are included in basic necessities of life. Being essential part of life the export of these countries is not much affected during the time of recession and their economies remain constant. Small powers are among fifty percent of world and the world problems cannot be solved without the help of these states. So they are important players of international system.

International Organizations in the Emerging Multipolar Power Structure

International organizations offer platform and help in the measures for collaboration and this can be best done in a moderate international system in which universal organizations have a major role in increase of cooperation with extensive bureaucratic consensus between states to make worldwide legitimate institutions for the conflict resolution and cooperation. A moderate system with an overlapping "multi-hierarchical" structure is emerging having superpowers, middle powers, and small powers. Thus, this system will permit for; a large quantity of regional as well as universal organizations with their specialized functions. This can lead to the

formation of a moderate world society with universalization of apprehensions which does not necessitate universal participation. United Nations can be that universal organization to play more vital role if it will become non controversial. The enlargement in United Nations Security Council membership can also direct to the practice of the original Charter to provide utmost benefitting to the human being and also by enormous transfer of funds from the wealthy states to the deprived states through United Nations channel. Other regional organizations are also playing their role which are European Union (EU), Organization of Islamic Conference (OIC), Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN), Gulf Cooperation Organization (GCC), South Asian Association For Regional Cooperation (SAARC), Economic Cooperation Organization (ECO), Arab League (AL), North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), African Union (AU), Organization of American States (OAS), Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC), Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC), Shanghai cooperation Organization (SCO), South African Development Community (SADC), Organization of Eastern Caribbean States (OECS), Latin American Integration Association (LAIA), Five Power Development Agreement (FPDA), Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS).

There are other organizations working for the betterment of the human being and to regulate the economic system of world. Such organizations are also creating more opportunities for small powers to work independently and to play their role in world politics like World Bank, International Monetary Fund (IMF), Interpol, Amnesty International, African Development Bank (ADB), Islamic Development Bank etc.

There are also multinational corporations present in the international system. They have a major role in developing human resources and bring people closer on both international and regional

levels. Like Nestle, Coca-Cola, MacDonald's at international level while Uni-Lever at regional level.

International organizations and multinational corporations, both depend upon the state's governments to get security, infrastructure, public record etc. The development of international organizations can never replace the importance of local governments. So they also have to maintain a sovereignty of states.

The regional organizations are moving towards defense pacts to get more leverage, security, cooperation, and strong position in international power structure like Union of South American Nations (UNASUR) have determined to form armed forces cooperating part known as Conselho Sul-Americano de Defesa (CSD) and Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN) is also trying to make military cooperation. The regional organizations are increasing their membership to increase their capability and influence like Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) that was created in June 2001 between China, Russia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Uzbekistan and Tajikistan but is working to increase its membership as with India, Pakistan, Iran and Mongolia as currently have observer position and the 18th ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF) consist of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations' fixed members along with regional actors like Russia, India, the United States, China, Japan, and Pakistan¹²³.

Patterns of the Future Multipolar Power Structure

Neither foes nor friends, a complex form of relationship will be seen among states in future as states can be competent with one another on one issue and also cooperate at same time on

¹²³ J. Berkshire Miller. "When North Korea Meets ASEAN". The Diplomat. July 21 2011. URL: <http://the-diplomat.com/flashpoints-blog/2011/07/21/when-north-korea-meets-asean/>

another issue. So tolerance, strict balance of power on global as well as on regional level will be supported in future international power structure. The competition has been shifted to economic field rather than territorial advancement means from hard use of power by military means towards soft power by competing economically. Military power cannot dominate economic power in peace and if states start tolerating each other it is nothing except deterring tool. The deterrence in military power can be found by nuclear weapons while in economic power the deterrence tools will be sanctions and blockades etc.

Complex interdependence is increasing by confronting the maintenance of national and cultural integrity which brings new challenges of peace and security, not only for a single state but for the whole world like liberation movements and security threats have also taken several new dimensions with traditional security anxieties such as ethnic, religious and territorial disputes. The new and non-traditional security issues are much complex like ecological pollution, terrorism, across-border crimes, and population outbursts, drug trafficking and infectious diseases. All this has taken the issue of security from local to international level. This new multipolar structure can be longer than earlier and can be more peaceful or destructive than earlier due to presence of nuclear weapons. Nuclear weapons so far had a stabilizing and restraining impact and remained as weapons of peace by creating deterrence. In some areas of world at present, such as Middle East or the Indian subcontinent or Southeast Asia, there may be said to be a local balance of power; in others, such as Eastern Europe or the Caribbean, there is a local dominant power centers.

This new multipolar power structure can bring great flow of capital, talent and ideas from developing to developed world markets. Local stock markets and global markets are of internet age which is tightly interconnected in this much technological world. This interconnectedness

has made them interdependent and the bilateral and multilateral treaties and projects have lessened the north-south gap by bringing south-south relationships and it can also end the north centrism. The domestic politics of the countries will have more influence on international politics than it was having in the past. At regional level with regional powers countries are more integrated with the process of informationalization through telecommunication and massive media innovations. New economic societies are emerging at both global and regional level on the basis of business and agrarian reforms with help of technology. Brazil, China, Indonesia, Egypt, Kenya, South Africa and India are the new hub of integrated markets with enormous performance and also represent the countries surrounding them. Interaction between poles will also not be conflict-free, as struggle, rivalry and competition for resources and markets will continue. But the level of interdependence between states is so immense that it can lessen the pessimistic consequences of this competition with the interaction of different state and non-state actors on economic and security issues. With this economic integration cultural understanding is also taking place which required strong transnational links, i.e., a broad transnational society that will provide the states with new areas of cooperative goals or with goals that cannot be reached through violent conflict. The future international power structure will be based on multiple hierarchies such as economic hierarchy that divides the rich from the poor, the political hierarchy that separates the rulers from the ruled, the resource hierarchy that makes some suppliers and others dependent, and the military that puts the strong next to the weak, all this will form the relations among nations. This system will be permissive in order to use soft means to get national interests while restrictive in order of using force. Similarly international anarchy will provide the opportunity to states to replace one another top hierarchical position through

competition. The world is believed to be universal in system only when there is alien threat to it.

Future multipolar power structure can be peaceful and stabilized if states follow the principle of strict balance of power, tolerance among communities and states, effective system of collective security, and have some common goals to achieve like environmental issues.

Conclusion

The international power structure is important in international relations as it will describe a distribution of power in the international system which have a direct influence on the proceedings or behavior of units of international system. The structure of international power structure has been discussed through different models of international system like bipolar international system or multi-polar international system. These models are helpful in presenting and discussing the history and future of international politics. Polarity in international relations is dependent upon the distribution of power and power can be measured by military, economy or by the power to influence other states. International power structure also helps to describe the order of international system whether have restrictive order or permissive order. As the international relations are anarchical in nature in which power distribution is not static but dynamic; so international relations are continuously changing throughout in history. The history of international relations can be divided into six multi-polar power structures in which there was bipolar system in Cold War era and after the end of Cold War it was being considered to be a uni-polar under American hegemony but the recent transformations of new economic hubs, regionalism and interdependence is leading towards a multi-polar power structure. International power structure is also a main constituent of many theories of international relations as the nature of state relations changes with the change in forms of Power Politics. These theories are helping in describing the power structure in different eras, giving the reasons behind them and can also lead to the future modifications. According to English School Theory the development of international societies is much dependent upon the distribution of power in international system at both global and regional level. The power structure of international system influences the foreign policies and behavior of state, and states as basic unit of international power

structure are able to cooperate for their common interest. Realists promote the use of power and power struggle in international politics, they believe that power structure of the system determines the outcomes of that system and the true balance of power can be best practiced in multipolar structure. Neo-realists believe that the power structure is helpful to explain all international politics, and interdependence also plays a great role in formation of state policies and power structure of international system. Liberalist sees international power structure in reference of International Organizations or international institutions with peaceful co existence. The Complex Interdependence will result in decreasing the war among states and assist the future of international power structure as dependence increase the use of power decrease. Realism more deals with the structure while liberalism deals with process of international system. Hegemonic Stability Theory believes a hegemon as a preservative of a system and alternative to International Anarchism and if there is lack of hegemon in international power structure there will be a chaos in the system but the critics said that hegemon just manipulates the system to maintain the status quo. Regionalism is a new trend in international politics; regions are cluster of states sharing similar idea or interest. They are emerging as new power poles in future international system and will bring stability and order in the regions and there are also some dominant powers in the regions. The Balance of Power approach suggests that it can be practiced in anarchical multipolar power structure. Currently the international power structure is in transitional period having the characteristics of both unipolar and multipolar power structure. There are few factors which can be responsible for the unipolar future in which United States will be the sole power because of its military, technology and other soft power means. But this power is being challenged by many other states especially by the new economic hubs like China, India, Brazil, Russia, Germany and France which are directing the system to a

multipolar power structure. American hegemony is also facing internal challenges related to recession, political decision and its cultural heterogeneity which has been increased with more migrated people. The emerging regionalism and new economic poles are also creating new opportunities for all countries to play role in international system. The new security challenges have motivated the states to be militarily strong. The expanding globalized technologies have also helped the states to engage in bilateral or multilateral treaties and to use their natural resources to enhance their power. The regional powers are making the position more strong by increasing their area of influence and new cores and peripheries are appearing in international system. The multilevel interdependence has created a complex multi hierarchical international power structure. China and Russia have been provoked to sign a Joint Declaration on a multipolar world and to establish a new world order. International Organizations are also giving some power to the other states and also put some check on the states behavior. So the future of international power structure is heterogeneous with number of power poles. It can be described by dividing them into major, middle and small powers. International Organizations are also part of international system includes regional organizations and multinational corporations. The major powers include China, America, India, Russia, Brazil, Japan, Britain, Germany and France. They are also regional powers. The middle powers are much active in international politics due to their power in specific areas and are Egypt, Iran, North Korea, Argentina, South Africa, Pakistan, Mexico, South Korea, Turkey, Poland, Indonesia, Saudi Arabia, Taiwan, Iran, Thailand, Australia and Nigeria. The small powers are the remaining world states, they are fifty percent of world and no issue can be solved without their consultation. They have natural resources power and can also increase their power by making alliance with any major power and also by use of their voting right in international organizations. International Organizations

are also playing great role in international system by providing platforms to cooperate. So the future of international power structure will be multi-polar, much restrictive in order and will face certain challenges like drug trafficking, security, pollution, nuclear weapons, increasing population, food problem, terrorism etc. This international future will be based on technological advancement, cooperation and will have no permanent rivals or no permanent friends. States may cooperate on one issue and may be against on other at same time so the stability and peace can be only brought by strict balance of power, tolerance and more cooperation.

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